

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FOR THE FIRST HALF-YEAR OF 1914



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

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**RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.**





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I

SUMERIAN AND GEORGIAN: A STUDY IN
COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

By M. TSERETHELI

(Continued from 1913, p. 821.)

III. PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns.—Georgian (with Lazian, etc.) makes no distinction of genders in personal pronouns (as in general Georgian makes no distinction of genders). Herein Georgian corresponds perfectly to Sumerian. The personal pronouns in Sumerian are also very like to Georgian, though the same cannot be said of other pronouns. The 1st person singular is regularly *me-e* in Sumerian, and in Georgian $\partial\partial$ *me* = I = Lazian *ma*, *man* ($\partial\partial$, $\partial\partial\delta$) = Mingrelian $\partial\partial$ *ma* = Svanian $\partial\partial$ *mi*. The 2nd person is in Sumerian *za-e* = Georgian $\partial\partial\delta$ *sen* = Mingrelian $\partial\partial$ *si* = Lazian $\partial\partial$ *si* = Svanian $\partial\partial$ *si*. As to the 3rd person, it is most interesting that Georgian and the other languages of the Georgian group have no special pronoun to designate directly the 3rd person; in Sumerian it is the same. Both Sumerian

and Georgian borrow the pronoun for the 3rd person from demonstrative pronouns: Sumerian *ni* (rectus) and *na* (obliquus) for persons, and *bi* and *ba* for inanimate objects; Georgian ის, იგი *is, igi*, Mingrelian ენა, თენა *ena, θena*, Lazian ჰამ *ham*, Svanian აჟა, ალა *ada, ala*. But in Georgian the root of the pronoun of the 3rd person appears in the genitive, dative, and other cases, and this root being მ *m* we can compare it with Sumerian demonstrative *bi* and *ba*. Indeed, we have in Georgian ის, იგი *is, igi* = he, she, it, but in genitive მ-ის *m-is*, dative მ-ას *m-as*, etc.; in Mingrelian ენა, თენა *ena, θena* = he, she, it, but in genitive მ-უ-ში *m-u-ši*, etc. In Lazian as independent personal pronoun 3rd person, the demonstrative ჰამ *ham* = this, is used, but the pronominal nominative is მ-უ-ჟ *m-u-q*, genitive მ-უ-ში *m-u-ši*, etc. It must be remembered, moreover, that in Lazian the demonstrative pronouns have the root of the personal pronoun 3rd person მ *m*, and that is why they replace the personal pronoun 3rd person. In Svanian, it is true, this root მ *m* does not appear in oblique cases. Thus the root of the 3rd personal pronoun is მ *m* [მ < ჰ *m* < *v*] in Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian, and its likeness with Sumerian root 3rd person *b* is, I think, not illusory. As to the other Sumerian root of 3rd person *n* (*ni, na*), we have its equivalents in Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian. In Georgian the archaic subjective suffix of the verb in the 3rd person is ნ: არ-ნ *ar-n* = he is, it is, this ნ *n*, instead of ს *s*, being a subjective pronominal suffix attached

to the verb in 3rd person singular; იყავ-ნ ნება შენი *ikav-n neba šeni* = *fiat voluntas tua*, etc. In Lazian ნ *n* is also suffixed to the verb 3rd person singular passive: ზენ *žen* = he is sitting; ტუბ-უნ *tub-un* = he is heating himself, etc.; in Lazian also რენ *r-en* = he is. In many other verbs we find, indeed, this subjective suffix ნ *n* for the 3rd person singular. On the other hand, we have a Lazian relative pronoun ნა *na* = which, and another pronoun ნამუ *namu* = which, composed of *na* and *mu*, both roots *n* and *m* designating the 3rd person. Add to all this* that in Sumerian the plural of *ni* is *e-ne*. This *ni* is the plural ending of nouns and verbs. The case is the same in Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian; in Georgian ნი *ni* and ან, ენ *an, en*, etc., form the plural of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs: კაც-ნი *kaθ-ni* = men; ჩუენ *θū-en* = we; თქვენ *θqū-en* = you; არ-ი-ან *ar-i-an* = they are; წერ-ენ *ter-en* = they write, etc. In Mingrelian we have ყვილ-უნა *qvil-u-na* = they kill, Lazian ჭარუმ-ან *tarum-an* = they write, etc. Finally, a Mingrelian personal-demonstrative pronoun ინა, თინა *ina, θina* = he, this there, ენა, თენა *ena, θena* = he, this here, may contain Sumerian root *n*. In Mingrelian ინა, თინა *ina, θina* and ენა, თენა *ena, θena* are employed as independent pronouns, while Sumerian *ni* occurs in this sense very rarely. But at any rate the general likeness of the Sumerian root *n* to the Georgian ნ *n* is evident, though the similarity is not in all cases exact.

persons. But Ḫgḫi , Ḫgḫi *ḫemi*, *ḫgimi*, etc., are independent possessive pronouns and not pronominal suffixes like Sumerian *mu*.

Other Pronouns.—Other Sumerian pronouns manifest less likeness to Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian pronouns. Nevertheless, we shall endeavour to compare some of them: (1) Sumerian demonstrative $r > l$ (*eru*, *uru*) may correspond to Svanian ᄃᄃᄃ , ᄃᄃ *ala*, *al*, a demonstrative pronoun used also as personal of the 3rd person, *ala*, *al* = this, he (cf. with Haldian *alus*). (2) Sumerian *anā* (from *na*) = what? compare to Georgian რა *ra*? = what? ($n > r$). (3) Sumerian indefinite interrogative for things *me-e* = what? compare to Mingrelian and Lazian მუ *mu* and მუჲ *muja* and to Svanian მᄃ *mā*, იმ *im* = what? (4) Sumerian *ni*, *na* = *amelu* (for persons) compare with Georgian რომელი *romeli*, the root of which is also r (= Sumerian *n*) + *m*, i.e. the root of the 3rd person pronoun რომელი *romeli* = which (relative and interrogative for persons and things alike). To this Georgian *romeli* corresponds exactly the Mingrelian ნამუ *namu* = *na* + *mu* (Georgian $r + m$) = which? Lazian ნამუ *namu* = which? and Svanian იარ *iar* (also with the root r) = who? which? Sumerian *na-me* = which one? evidently belongs here. And Sumerian *na-me* = anyone, is interesting also as an indefinite pronoun since we have in Georgian the same ending -მე *-me* to form indefinite pronouns: ვინ-მე *vin-me* = anyone. Sumerian *na-me* (for things) = anything, corresponds exactly to Georgian რამე *ra-me* = anything.

IV. NUMERALS

The numerals in Sumerian and Georgian seem to be in complete disaccord, but perhaps this is due to the fact that the etymology of Georgian numerals is in general very obscure. Yet we can compare three numerals of Sumerian and Georgian: (1) Sumerian $aš = 1$ seems to me very like to the Georgian ერ-თი *er-θi*, Mingrelian არ-თი *ar-θi*, Lazian არ-თი *ar-θi*, and Svanian ეს-ჟუ *eš-ǰu* = 1. Professor Marr compared Georgian ერთი *erθi* (**ešθi*, **ešθi*) with Assyrian *išten*, considering that *išten* and Arabic احد may be of the same root. But, as we know, to احد corresponds, not *išten*, but *edu* in Assyrian, *išten* being a non-Semitic word. This *išten* may be borrowed by Assyrians from some non-Semitic nation related to Georgians. Now we think that the ending *θi* in Georgian ერთი *erθi* does not belong to the root signifying 1. We think rather that *er*, *ar*, *eš* signify 1 in Georgian, Lazian, Mingrelian, and Svanian. Our hypothesis is very probable since we have in Lazian არ *ar* = 1 without the ending *θi*, and even *a* = 1. Moreover, in other Georgian numerals we have the same ending *θi*, *di*: ხუთი *ǰu-θi* = 5, შვიდი *švi-di* = 7, ათი *a-θi* = 10. Thus Georgian *ar* = Sumerian $aš = 1$ seems to me very probable, $š = r$ being a phonetic phenomenon as often observed in Georgian as in Sumerian, Assyrian, and other languages. (2) If Sumerian $ašša = 6 = 5 + 1$ is true, in this case its comparison with Lazian აში *aši* = 6 (Georgian ექვსი *eqvsi*, Svanian უსგვა *usgva*) is naturally impossible, but $5a - aš = 5āš = āš = ašša$ (!) seems to me doubtful. (3) Sumerian $u = 10$ can be compared more boldly with Lazian ვი-თ(ი) *vi-θ(i)* = 10, Mingrelian ვი-თი *vi-θi* = 10, Georgian

ბ-თი *a-thi* = 10, and Svanian იე-შღ *ie-šl* = 10. Note that in Sumerian we have a variant of *u* which is *a* = Georgian ბ(თი) *a(θi)*.

Another word which may have some relation with a Georgian word of the same meaning is Sumerian *šar* = totality. Georgian სულ *sul*, or rather ს(რ)ულ-ი *s(r)ul-i*, means also "totality", "total", "complete", but it is not employed to express any definite number. Compare also Svanian სურუ *suru* = very, totally. Then it is very interesting indeed that the Mingrelian word გვერ-დი *gver-di* means "side" and "half" at the same time. The root of this გვერ-დი *gver-di* is the same as Sumerian *bar*, this latter corresponding exactly to Georgian ფერ-დი *fer-di* = flank, side, rib, ფარ-დი *far-di* = part, portion, and გვერ-დი *gver-di* = side, rib, and Mingrelian გვერ-დი *gver-di* = side, half, being of the same etymology as ფერ-დი *fer-di* and ფარ-დი *far-di* = Sumerian *bar*. The difference is that in Georgian გვერ-დი *gver-di* means "side", "rib", "flank", but never "half", while in Mingrelian it means "side" and "half" at the same time. And the fact that Mingrelian expresses "half" by the word გვერ-დი *gver-di* = side, related to Sumerian *bar*, might perhaps lead us to think that the Sumerian *bar* expressed also the notion of the "half", "portion". But there is no direct proof of that, and the Sumerian word for "half", *maš*, seems to be quite another word, as Langdon affirms also in his *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 33, n. 1.

As to the rest of the numerals, cardinals and ordinals, no likeness can be noticed in this respect between Sumerian and the Georgian group of languages.

V. THE VERB

Suffixed Conjugation.—The most interesting feature in Sumerian and in the languages of the Georgian group is the verb. As far as I know, the Georgian verb has the most likeness in structure to the Basque verb and also to the verb of other languages related more or less to Basque. Now it is precisely with this latter that A. H. Sayce, F. Lenormant, and others have compared the Sumerian verb, and Fr. Hommel, on the other hand, pointed out that the systems of prefixes are very similar in Basque and Georgian. But nobody has ever tried to compare directly the Sumerian verb with the Georgian. We shall endeavour to do this, previously stating that the Georgian verb has undergone different development during the centuries in many respects, and in many cases it is in complete disaccord with the Sumerian verb. Nevertheless we shall find a striking similarity in the principles upon which the structure of Sumerian and Georgian verbs is based.

The first principle of the conjugation of the verb in the languages of the Georgian group is the use of prefixes and suffixes of pronominal origin, subjective and objective, added to the themata of the verbs. Sumerian possessed both prefixed and suffixed conjugation, and in this general respect Sumerian conjugation is like Georgian.

According to Langdon the suffixed conjugation which appears in the evolution of Sumerian exclusively in dependent phrases must have existed side by side with the prefixed conjugation from the beginning. Traces of this suffixed conjugation we find: Sumerian *zig-zig-zu* = thou ragest, *a nu-nag-a-mu* = water I drink not, etc. Likewise we find traces of the suffixed conjugation in the languages of the Georgian group: Georgian singular ႧႣႫ-Ⴊ *ter-s* = he writes, ႧႣ-Ⴊ *ar-n* = he is, plural ႧႣႫ-ႫႪ *ter-en* = they write, ႧႣ-Ⴋ-Ⴊ *ar-i-an* = they

are, etc.; Mingrelian ყვილუნ-ს *kvilun-s* = he kills; Lazian ჭარუმ-ს *tarum-s* = he writes, plural ყვილუნ-ნა *kvilu-na* = they kill, ჭარუმ-ან *tarum-an* = they write.

Those endings are the subjective pronominal suffixes in all these three languages, which show that in the 3rd singular and plural suffixes are preserved and thus the suffixed conjugation does exist partly in Georgian. Those Georgian suffixes fully correspond to Sumerian *ni* and *ene*: *sig-ni* = he fixes, *sig-ene* = they fix; Georgian არ-ნ *ar-n* = he is, არი-ან *ari-an* = they are; but it must be noted that in the Georgian there is no separate suffixed conjugation and there is also no separate prefixed conjugation; they occur together.

While the 1st person is ვ-წერ *v-ter* = I write, i.e. prefixed, the 3rd is suffixed წერ-ს *ter-s* = he writes, and the 2nd is in the majority of verbs neither suffixed nor prefixed. I think it shows clearly that in the primitive Georgian both prefixes and suffixes were employed to form the persons of the verb, and now only traces, but quite evident, are preserved of all those suffixes and prefixes in the languages of the Georgian group. Thus, for instance, the prefix of the 2nd person, which has disappeared in other verbs, is preserved in ბ-არ *q-ar* = thou art, etc. But while subjective prefixes have disappeared, the same cannot be said of objective prefixes, as we shall see later.

Sumerian *ni*, *na* (and *bi*, *ba*), as signs of dependent phrases, marking the primitive suffixed conjugation and even attached to the prefixed conjugation, have a remarkable likeness to Georgian რომ *rom*, Lazian ნა *na*, and especially Mingrelian ნი *ni*. First of all, რომ *rom*, ნა *na*, and ნი *ni* are all of pronominal origin

like Sumerian *na, ni*; then they are necessary for the construction of dependent phrases. In Georgian *რომ* *rom* is employed as a conjunction = which, when, if, and there is in Georgian another temporal conjunction, *რას* *ra*, of the same origin as *რომ* *rom*, but these conjunctions are employed quite independently and never as suffixes. In Lazian *ნა* *na* = when, which, if, as, is also employed as an independent conjunction put after the verb, but Mingrelian *ნი* *ni* is suffixed to the verb and shows great likeness to Sumerian and Haldian constructions of independent phrases of that kind. Sumerian *I maš d. nin-gir-zu ba-ga sal gir-zu-(ki)-ta tum-ni ni-gub* = one kid for Ningirsu which had been brought from the *baga* of a woman of Girsu, is here; *síga ú-šub-ba mu-ni-gar-ra-ni d. babbar im-da-gul* = because of the brick which he made in the mould Shamash was made glad, etc. Mingrelian *კოზი ცხენს გეგედუ-ნი ცხენიშე გეგლანთხუ* *koθi θqens geqedu-ni θqeniše geglanθqu* = the man who (which) was on horseback fell down from the horse. (In Georgian . . . *რომ იჯდა* . . . *rom idda* . . . = who was on horseback.) Lazian *კოზი კოზისი ღაზური ნენა უშკუნ ნა* *koθi vorsi lazuri nena ušqun na* = the man who knows well the Lazian language. In Georgian we have the same construction with *rom*. Note also Georgian temporal *რას* *ra*; *რას ცარიელ ჰნახა, იცნა, გამოუღო, შემოვარდა* *ra Tariel hnaqa, iθna, gamougo, šemovarda* = when Tariel recognized it (the letter), he took it (from him), he started (Sh.R. 1315, 4). In Mingrelian we often have two pronouns in dependent phrases—one independent relative and another suffixed to the verb: *ქომოძირითუ*

წიგნიჲ, ნამუთი ყუდეს დიპტე-ნი *gomomirθu tigniq, namuθi kudes dipte-ni* = I have received the book which I left at home. Here ნამუთი *namuθi* = relative which, together with the suffixed *ni*, expresses the same idea. Mingrelian *ni* must not agree in case, number, and person with the antecedent subject described in the dependent phrase, being a simple suffixed conjunction. Herein it differs from the Sumerian *na, ni*.

Prefixed Conjugation.—Whether Sumerian verbal prefixes *mu, mi, me, ma; ni, ne, na; bi, ba* are pronominal prefixes or not, they are in every case demonstrative elements, and Langdon himself thus describes these elements *m, n, b*. By F. Lenormant, P. Haupt, G. Bertin, F. Thureau-Dangin they are considered as pronominal elements, and their hypothesis, I think, is quite probable. However, in Georgian, Lazian, etc., we have the *pronominal prefixes*, personal and demonstrative, which are indispensable for the conjugation of the verb. These pronominal elements denote the subject and direct and indirect objects of the verb in Georgian as in Sumerian. Therefore they are subjective and objective. They are as follows:—

SUBJECTIVE PREFIXES

	GEORGIAN.	LAZIAN.	MINGRELIAN.	SVANIAN.
Sing.	1. ვ <i>v</i>	ვ/ბ (ვ, ბ) <i>v/b (φ, p)</i>	id.	ბჳა, ბჳი <i>qva, qvi</i>
	2. ზ <i>q</i>	—	—	ბა, ბი <i>qa, qi</i>
	3. —	—	—	($\frac{1}{3}$) ბა, ი<ჰი <i>(h)qa, i<hi</i>
Plur.	1. ვ <i>v</i>	ვ/ბ (ვ, ბ) <i>v/b (φ, p)</i>	id.	ბჳა <i>qva</i>
	2. ზ <i>q</i>	—	—	ბა <i>qa</i>
	3. —	—	—	ბა <i>qa</i>

OBJECTIVE PREFIXES

GEORGIAN

	<i>Indefinite Case.</i>	<i>Genitive.</i>	<i>Dative.</i>
Sing.	1. მ <i>m</i>	მი <i>mi</i>	მა <i>ma</i>
	2. გ <i>g</i>	გი <i>gi</i>	გა <i>ga</i>
	3. ს ($\frac{1}{3}$) resp. შ <i>s(h)</i> resp. ჯ <i>s(h)</i>	უ ($\frac{1}{3}$) (<i><vi</i>) ი ($\frac{1}{3}$) (<i><hi</i>) reflect.	ა ($\frac{1}{3}$) (<i><ha</i>)
Plur.	1. მ, გუ <i>m, gu</i>	მი, გუ <i>mi, gw</i>	მა, გუ <i>ma, gua</i>
	2. გ <i>g</i>	გი <i>gi</i>	გა <i>ga</i>
	3. ს ($\frac{1}{3}$) resp. შ <i>s(h)</i> resp. ჯ <i>s(h)</i>	უ ($\frac{1}{3}$) (<i><vi</i>) ი ($\frac{1}{3}$) (<i><hi</i>)	ა ($\frac{1}{3}$) (<i><ha</i>)

LAZIAN AND MINGRELIAN

	<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Genitive.</i>	<i>Dative.</i>	
			Lazian.	Mingrelian.
Sing.	1. მ <i>m</i>	მი <i>mi</i>	მო, მა <i>mo, ma</i>	მა + <i>ma</i>
	2. გ <i>g</i>	გი <i>gi</i>	გო, გა <i>go, ga</i>	გა + <i>ga</i>
	3. —	უ <i>u</i>	ო, ა <i>o, a</i>	ა <i>a</i>
Plur.	1. მ <i>m</i>	მი <i>mi</i>	მო, მა <i>mo, ma</i>	მა <i>ma</i>
	2. გ <i>g</i>	გი <i>gi</i>	გო, გა <i>go, ga</i>	გა <i>ga</i>
	3. —	— Laz., უ <i>u</i> Ming.	ო, ნა <i>o, na</i>	ა <i>a</i>

SVANIAN

1. *For the Logical Subject*

Sing.	1.	მ-თ	oθ	მ-ღ	od	მ-ბ	on	} also with other variants.
	2.	ს-თ	aθ	ს-ღ	ad	ს-ბ	an	
	3.	ს-თ	aθ	ს-მ	am	ს-ბ	an	
Plur.	1.	მ-თ	oθ	მ-	o	მ-ბ	on	
	2.	ს-თ	aθ	ს-	a	ს-ბ	an	
	3.	ს-თ	aθ	ს-	a	ს-ბ	an	

2. *For the Object*

Sing.	1.	ბ-ს	ma	ს-მ	am	} also with other variants.
	2.	ჟ-ს	da	ს-ჟ	ad	
	3.	ბ-ს	qa	ს-ბ	aq	
Plur.	1.	ბ-ს	nä	ს-მ	ag	
	2.	ჟ-ს	da	ს-ჟ	ad	
	3.	ბ-ს	qa	ს-ბ	aq	

3. *Subject with Object.*

1.	ბ-მ	q-v-o	= I him	} plur. id.
2.	ბ-მ	q-o	= thou him	
3.	ბ-მ	q-o	= he him	

It will of course be noticed that these Georgian subjective and objective prefixes distinguish the person and number, contrary to Sumerian, but this distinction is very slight. But they distinguish also the cases—namely, the objective prefixes—and in this respect they agree with Sumerian, Langdon suggesting that the

vowels of Sumerian prefixes really denote the case-inflexions. In Georgian, Lazian, etc., indeed, we have $\text{Ბ } i$ and $\text{Ბ } a$ for genitive and dative cases (Tubal-Cainian $\text{Ბ } o$ dative) as the vowel characteristics of these cases.

In Sumerian *mu*, *mi*, *ne*, *bi*, *e* may indicate the subject and the object. In practice only *bi* and *ni* are regularly employed for the object. The oblique forms are *ma*, *na*, *ba*. The order of prefixes is: subject + dative + accusative. According to Thureau-Dangin *mu* = the pronoun representing the subject; *na*, plural *ne* = the pronominal element representing the object in dative; *ni* = the pronominal element representing the object in accusative. Sumerian *mu-dū* = he + to build = he builds; *mu-na-dū* = he + to him + to build = he builds for him; *mu-ne-dū* = he + to them + to build = he builds for them; *mu-na-ni-dū* = he + to him + it + to build = he builds it for him; *mu-ne-ni-dū* = he + to them + it + to build = he builds it for them; *mu-ni-in-dū* = he + it + to build = he builds it.

The Georgian system of prefixation is the same, though not so completely preserved as in Sumerian—

1. *mu-dū* = subject + verb—

GEORGIAN

1. Ვ-ᲑᲗ *v-ar* = I + to be.
2. Ვ-ᲑᲗ *q-ar* = thou + to be.
3. — ᲑᲗ-Ვ(Ვ) *ar-s(n)* = [he] + to be + he, etc.

or—

1. Ვ-ᲑᲗᲕ *v-ter* = I + to write.
2. — ᲑᲗᲕ *ter* = [thou] + to write.
3. — ᲑᲗᲕ-Ვ *ter-s* = [he] + to write + he, etc.

The majority of Georgian verbs have preserved the subjective prefix in the 1st person singular and plural

only. The case is the same in Lazian and Mingrelian. But in Svanian we have—

1. ႧႧႧ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *qva-r-i* = I + to be.
2. ႧႧ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *qa-r-i* = thou + to be.
3. Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *a-r-i* = he + to be, etc.

Here the subjective elements are preserved for all three persons (singular and plural).

2. Let us now take the formula *ma-an* or *mu-ni-in*: *mu-ni-in-dū* = subject + accusative + verb—

GEORGIAN

1. Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *v-h-kl-av* = I + him + to slay (+ to make).
2. —Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *h-kl-av* = [thou] + him + to slay (+ to make).
3. —Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *h-kl-av-s* = [he] + him + to slay (+ to make) + he, etc.

3. *mu-na-dū* = subject + dative + verb—

GEORGIAN

- | | | | |
|-----------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Genitive. | { | 1. Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ | <i>v-u-ter</i> = I + for him + to write. |
| | | 2. —Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ | <i>u-ter</i> = [thou] + for him + to write. |
| | | 3. —Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ | <i>u-ter-s</i> = [he] + for him + to write + he, etc. |
-
- | | | | |
|---------|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Dative. | { | 1. Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ | <i>v-a-ter</i> = I + on him + to write = I ascribe him. |
| | | 2. —Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ | <i>a-ter</i> = [thou] + on him + to write. |
| | | 3. —Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ | <i>a-ter-s</i> = [he] + on him + to write + he, etc. |

Then ႧႧ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *mi-ter-s* = for me + to write + he (genitive *mi*), ႧႧ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ-Ⴇ *ma-ter-s* = on me + to write +

he (dative *ma*), gi-ter-s = for thee + to write + he (genitive *gi*), ga-ter-s = on thee + to write + he (dative *ga*), etc.

It is the same in Lazian, Mingrelian, and Svanian.

By such a combination of subjective and objective prefixes the Georgian verb expresses various relations between three persons singular and plural in the indefinite, genitive, and dative cases.

4. Lastly comes the Sumerian *mu-na-ni-dū*, *mu-na-ne-dū* = subject + dative + accusative; exactly the same is in Georgian, more often subject + accusative + dative, but also subject + dative + accusative, as in Sumerian.

Indeed, if we consider the forms v-a-ter , g-a-ter , etc., they mean not only I + on him + to write, or I + on thee + to write, but also I + it + on him + to write, I + it + on thee + to write, etc., and thus it is possible to reconstruct the primitive Georgian conjugation of the order: subject + accusative + dative—

1. $\text{v-a-ter} = \text{v-[h]-[h]a-ter}$.
2. — $\text{a-ter} = \text{[h]-[h]a-ter}$.
3. — $\text{a-ter-s} = \text{[h]-[h]a-ter-s}$.

I + it + on him + to write, [thou] + it + on him + to write, [he] + it + on him + to write + he. Or—

1. $\text{v-a-ter} = \text{v-[h]a-[h]-ter}$.
2. — $\text{a-ter} = \text{[h]a-[h]-ter}$.
3. — $\text{a-ter-s} = \text{[h]a-[h]-ter-s}$.

I + on him + it + to write, [thou] + on him + it + to write, [he] + on him + it + to write + he.

Such must have been certainly the primitive Georgian conjugation. The prefix-system must have been highly developed, and probably the primitive Georgian verb was far more complicated than the Sumerian verb itself, as we can see from its restored forms, which are quite regular, and the ruins of it we see in old Georgian as well as in modern Georgian.

Sumerian *ma* and *ba* may indicate the subject, but in the oblique case they represent the subject acted upon by an instrument, or as acting for itself in its own interest. *ma* and *ba* may thus express the passive and middle voices. Sumerian *ga-ma-abbi* = may it be spoken; *ba-šub* = she is thrown; *uku ba-gar-gar kalam(e) ba-gub-gub* = the people are created by it, the land is established by it (but *lugal-e urbillum-(ki) mu-ġúl-a* = (year when) the king destroyed Urbillum); *ud-ba patesi-ge kalam-ma-na zig-ga ba-ni-gar* = then the *patesi* in his land took taxes for himself; *nam-ni ma-ni-kud-du* = whose oath he has sworn for himself (but *nam mu-na-kud-da* = an oath he has sworn for him). In Georgian we have just the same principle to express the passive and middle voices (as regards the employment of prefixes; otherwise Georgian has also other means to express the passive and middle voices): ვ-ი-კლ-ვ-ი *v-i-kl-v-i* = I am in the state of being killed, ვ-ი-ქც-ევ-ი *v-i-qθ-ev-i* = I am in the state of being destroyed, ruined, etc., ვ-ი-კლ-ავ *v-i-kl-av* = I am killing for myself, ი-ფიც-ავ-ს *i-φiθ-av-s* = he swears for himself, but უ-ფიც-ავ-ს *u-φiθ-av-s* = he swears to him, etc. Both these Georgian ვ-ი-კლ-ვ-ი *v-i-kl-v-i* and ვ-ი-კლ-ავ *v-i-kl-av* have reflective meaning, but the first forms the passive and the second the middle voice, as in Sumerian.

Very characteristic indeed are some typically Georgian combinations in Sumerian, when the oblique *ma* is employed in the dative case: *nig maš gig-ge ma-ab-gin-na-má* = that which midnight brought to me; *nam-nun-ni sag ma-ab-sum-sum* = grandeur hath one given unto me. Here the subject seems to be omitted, as Langdon says. And in Georgian, too, $\partial\text{-}\text{წ}\text{გზ-ლ}$ *ma-ter-s*, $\partial\text{-}\text{ნოჭ-გდ-ლ}$ *ma-nit-eb-s*—to me + to ascribe + he, to me + to give + he—are usual expressions, and here, too, ∂s *ma* indicates the dative, the subject being omitted as prefix, but suffixed instead of being prefixed.

As to the local force of the elements *e*, *m*, *n*, *b*, it is necessary to notice that the Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian verbal prepositions with the root *m* have just the same function, though they have nothing to do with the verbal prefixes discussed above. They always precede the verbal prefixes, as do all other verbal prepositions. Nor do we know if they are of pronominal origin or not. But their *local force* is interesting, since the same Sumerian root *m* is Georgian ∂ *m*, and since they denote *the direction of the action*. Georgian $\partial\text{მ}$ *mo*, indeed, denotes the direction of the action from “there” to “here”, $\partial\text{ნ}$ *mi* the direction from “here” to “there”, and compound $\partial\text{ნ}\partial\text{მ}$ = $\partial\text{ნ}$ + $\partial\text{მ}$ *mimo* = *mi* + *mo* the continual movement between two points. Lazian $\partial\text{მ}$ *mo* and $\partial\text{გ}$ *me* and Mingrelian $\partial\text{უ}$ *mu* and $\partial\text{გ}$ *me* are the equivalents of Georgian $\partial\text{მ}$ *mo* and $\partial\text{ნ}$ *mi*. For the expression of the action of the subject remaining at the place the Georgian verb employs no preposition, or the preposition ს *ağ*, *a* = up, when the action is directed from a fixed place up to above. Sumerian *e-ne-bal* = he weighed out to him (here the

subject is dwelling at a fixed place); Georgian აჯ-უ-წონ-ა აჯ-უ-ტონ-ა or ა-უ-წონ-ა ა-უ-ტონ-ა = he weighed out to him. Here the prefix denoting the subject is omitted, but the preposition ა, აჯ *a, aǰ* denotes the action at the place. But Sumerian *mu-na-bal* = he brought to him, where *mu* is the subject placed outside and acting towards the person who is in the centre, may be rendered in Georgian: მო-უ-წყო *mo-u-tko* = he brought to him (from outside). Here the preposition *mo* denotes the action from the exterior to the centre, the subject being omitted as usual (but the 1st person is: მო-ვ-უ-წყო *mo-v-u-tke* = I + to him + weighed out (or brought) with the preposition *mo* = from the exterior). Sumerian *ba-tum* = he has taken away (for himself) = მი-ი-ღო *mi-i-ǰo* = he has received, he has taken away, *mi* being the preposition denoting the action from "here" to "there", and *i* the prefix, reflective, for the 3rd person genitive. Also Georgian მი-ვიდა *mi-vida* = he came (from here there), მო-ვიდა *mo-vida* = he came (from there here) are the most usual expressions, as Sumerian *ba-tum* = he has taken away (from here to there, or for himself). Note also Georgian და მი-მო-იტაცებოდა კიდობანი ზედა წყალთა *da mi-mo-itaθeboda kidobani zeda tkalθa* = וַתֵּלֶךְ הַתְּבָה צֶלְ-פְּנֵי (Gen. vii, 18), the Hebrew וַתֵּלֶךְ denoting here the Georgian მი-მო-იტაცებოდა *mi-mo-itaθeboda* = literally "was going from there here and from here there".—It is the same in Mingrelian and Lazian.

The infixes ra, šu, da, ta.—In Georgian also we have the verbal prepositions, the elements of which, *θ, d, and š,*

correspond to the postpositions and case-endings discussed above. As to the Sumerian *ra* of the 2nd person dative, it corresponds to Georgian dative case-ending *sa*, but when it is necessary to express the motion toward a person *da* of the directive is employed. As verbal infix, to the Sumerian *ra* corresponds in Georgian the pronominal objective prefix in indefinite, dative, or genitive case: Sumerian *eš e-ninnū-na dū-ba za-ra ma-ra-an-dug* = he speaks to thee for building the house of his Eninnu. Here *za-ra* = to thee, corresponds exactly to Georgian *შენ-და* *šen-da* = to thee, unto thee, and *ma-ra-an-dug* = Georgian *გე-უბნება* *ge-ubneba* = to thee he speaks. Sumerian *mu-du-ru . . . šu-za ma-ra-ni-in-dū* = he has fittingly placed into thy hand a sceptre, can correspond in Georgian only to a construction with the same pronominal objective prefix in indefinite, dative, or genitive case: *მო-გა-ნიჭა* *mo-ga-niṣa* = he has given (to) thee, etc.; Sumerian *ma-ra-dū-e* = I will build for thee = Georgian *აგ-გი-შენებ* *ağ-gi-šeneb* = id., etc. Likewise Sumerian *ra* accusative can be expressed in Georgian with the objective prefix in indefinite case 2nd person: *გ-კლავ* *g-klav* = [I] + thee + am killing, which corresponds to the Sumerian construction *ge-ri-pad* = verily I will curse thee, etc. As to the elements *š* and *d*, *θ*, they are always prefixed in Georgian and are placed at the beginning of the word, preceding even the pronominal prefix; they are never infixed, as in Sumerian. Sumerian infix *šu* = Georgian preposition *შე* *še*, but this latter has preserved only the sense of "inside", "through", "up to" (Lazian *შე* *še*, Mingrelian *(ე) შე* *(e)še*, *მი შე* *miše* = *mí* + *še* = direction of the action from "here" to "there" + "inside"). Sumerian *lugal-za-ra (?) ašginar u-mu-sá*

anšu-dun-úr u-ši-lal = for thy lord prepare a wagon and attach a mule thereto; Georgian ბატონის ეტლი-ში ცხენი შე-აბი *batonis etl-ši θḡeni še-abi* = attach a horse to the wagon of the lord. Georgian კაცი სახლ-ში შე-ვიდა *kaθi saql-ši še-vida* = the man entered (into) the house; კაცი ხეზედ შე-ვიდა *kaθi ḡezed še-vida* = the man has climbed up the tree, etc. The Georgian verbal preposition *da* has preserved mostly the locative sense, and it corresponds rather to the Sumerian locative *da, ta* than to *da* of accompaniment. It means in Georgian "down", "on": Georgian და-ქვევა *da-qḡeva* = to run (down), to pour (upon the earth); და-შვება *da-šveba* = to descend (from the mountain down), but also to let fall (anything upon the earth); და-რჩენა *da-rḡena* = to remain (on the spot), etc.; Sumerian *giš-ká-na-ta ba-ta-durun* = within the lintel he caused to repose; Georgian გიშკან-ად და-ასვენა *giškan-ad da-asvena* = in *giškana* he placed (him); ქალაქ-ად და-სტოვა *qalaq-ad da-s-tora* = in the city he left him, etc. (Lazian preposition დო *do*, Mingrelian დო *do*, have the same functions). I should like to mention here also a Georgian preposition ში *ša* = down, from above down, which seems to be a compound preposition, შე + და(თა) *še + da(θa)*; and really it indicates the notion of the movement directed from anything placed above to anything placed below. In this respect Sumerian double infixes are not without analogy in Georgian, though to Sumerian double . . . *ra-ta* . . . corresponds Georgian და-გ(ე, ი) . . . *da-g(e, i)* = preposition + the objective verbal prefix of the 2nd person

g and not *šθa* = two prepositions *še* + *da* : Georgian შთა-ვიდა *šθa-vida* = he came down, etc. These are the prepositions which may correspond to Sumerian infixes *ra*, *šú*, *da*, *ta* in the sense explained above. But Georgian, Lazian, etc., have a great number of other prepositions which express all other meanings of Sumerian *šú*, *da*, *ta*, which are lost now by Georgian შე *še* and ვა *da*, and also various shades of the meaning of the verb. We shall not enumerate these Georgian simple and compound verbal prepositions, since they are not of the same origin as Sumerian *šú*, *da*, *ta*. Yet I should mention one more Georgian preposition which seems to be composed of three simple prepositions: შთამო-ვიდა *šθamo-vida* = შე + ვა + მო *še + da + mo* = from above + down + in our direction; really Georgian შთამო-ვიდა *šθamo-vida* means "he came from + down + to us" (from a tree or from a city, etc.).

Compound Verbs.—The compound verbs in Sumerian are derived from the combination of the words for "eye" (*igi*), "head" (*sag*), "mouth" (*ka*, *gu*), "arm" (*á*), etc., with a verb of action: *igi-gar* = to see, i.e. to use the eyes; *šú-tuġ* = to grasp, i.e. to open the hand, etc. We have exactly the same compound verbs in Georgian, especially derived from the combination of the word for "hand", etc., with a verb of action: ხელ-ყოფა *qel-koḫa* = to act (hand + to make), ხელ-სვდა *qel-šda* = to use (hand + to place), ღაღად-ყოფა *ğağad-koḫa* = to raise the prayer (incantation, or simply speech + to make), etc. In Georgian also the prefixes are placed between the verb and internal object. Sumerian *galu-tu-ra igi-im-ma-an-siġ* = he cast (his) eye upon the sick man = he beheld the sick man. Here *igi* is an internal object and *galu-tu-ra* an external object. The verbal prefix *an*

reproduces *igi* (the direct object), *ma* the external indirect object, and *im* the subject. In Georgian not all those elements are reproduced by the prefixes, since many of them have already disappeared in the Georgian prefixed conjugation in general, but some of them are reproduced: Georgian ხელ-ვ-ჰ-ყავ *qel-v-h-kav* = I acted; *v* = the subject, *h* = the direct object (reproducing either internal or external object); ვერ ხელ-გე-წიფების *ver qel-ge-tiφebis* = thou hast no power (= not + to thee + hand + to reach); here only the logical subject is reproduced by the objective prefix გ *g*. Examples of the compound verbs of the second class (Langdon), when the compound verb acquires the power of acting directly upon the external object, occur in Georgian also very frequently. Indeed, such an exact distinction between the compound verbs of the first and second classes cannot be established in Georgian as in Sumerian. In the Georgian ხელ-ჰ-ყოფ-ს *qel-h-koφ-s*, *h* may represent the direct internal object and some direct external object as well—rather this latter. The Sumerian *lugal-e igi-ne-ne-in-gar-ri-eš-ma* = they beheld the king, may correspond to the Georgian გულისხმა-ვ-ჰ-ყავ სიტყვა იგი *gulisqma-v-h-kav sitkva igi* = I understood that word = the voice of the heart + I + it + to make + that word; *h* here represents the external object, “that word.”

The verb \sqrt{me} = to be.—The verb *me* = to be, the essential element of which, *m*, appears in the emphatic particle *ám* according to Langdon, may be compared with a Georgian decayed verb ბ/ვ, მ/ფ *b/v, m/φ*. This is no longer employed in Georgian as an independent verb. Its meaning is “to make”, not exactly “to be”

but it is highly probable that in primitive Georgian it had also the meaning of "to be", as we shall see later on. There are in Georgian no forms derived from the root *m, b, v, φ* like Sumerian *lu-gāl-bi a šu-mu im-me a gīr-mu im-me* = this man is the son of my hand, son of my foot is he. The element *ბ, ბ, ვ, ფ m, b, v, φ* plays in Georgian and Lazian (also Mingrelian) the part of auxiliary verb in the conjugation. It is suffixed to the verbal thema, first of all to the forms of the present, imperfect, etc.: Georgian *ვ-ა-სვ-ამ v-a-sq-am* = I pour out, I am pouring out; Lazian *ბ-ჭარ-უმ b-ṭar-um* = I write, I am writing, etc.; Georgian *ვ-კლ-ავ v-kl-av* = I kill, I am killing, but also *ვი-კლ-ვი vi-kl-vi* = passive, I am in a state of being killed; *ვა-კეთ-ებ va-keθ-eb* = I make, I am making, but also passive *ვ-კეთ-დ-ები v-keθ-d-ebi* = I am in the state of being made. This passive significance of the element *b, v* shows clearly that it must have had primitively also the meaning "to be". Then note Georgian infinitives or verbal nouns: *კლ-ვა kl-va* = to kill, the killing; *სვ-მა sq-ma* = to pour out, the pouring out; *კეთ-ება keθ-eba* = to make, the making. Lazian *ორდ-აფუ ord-aφu* = to let grow, the growing; *ოდირ-ამუ odir-amu* = to see, the seeing; Mingrelian *ძირ-აფა ḍir-aφa* = to see, the seeing; *ყვილ-უა kvil-ua* = to kill, the killing (here *m, b φ > u*). I think, besides, that this remarkable verbal root is preserved in Georgian also in the following forms: (a) In the abstract nouns with the suffix *ობა oba*: *ვაკ-ობა kaθ-oba*, Lazian *კოθ-ობა koθ-oba* =

the manliness (= to be a man!), etc. (b) In the nouns of purpose: *სა-კლ-ავ-ი* *sa-kl-av-i* = that which is to be killed, etc. (c) In the nouns derived from the participle active and passive: *მ-კლ-ავ-ი* *m-kl-av-i* = he who is killing, *ნა-კლ-ავ-ი* *na-kl-av-i* = what has been killed; etc. A great number of such and other nouns with the element *m*, *b*, *φ*, *u*, *v* occur in Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian, and therefore we shall not enumerate them. Sumerian formed with the aid of the verb *me* the participial conjugation *dúg-im-me* = *dúg-ám* = he speaks, this participial conjugation being particularly frequent in dependent clauses. In Georgian we have analogous constructions, and I think that this *dúg-im-me* = *dúg-ám* and the Sumerian construction with emphatic *ám* employed after finite verbs may correspond to the Georgian verbal construction with *am*, *aφ*, *eb*, etc., suffixed to the verbal thema: Sumerian *ib-gar-ra-ám* = he has made; Georgian *ვ-ა-ს-ს-ამ* *v-a-sq-am* = I am pouring out; Lazian *ბ-ჟ-არ-უმ* *b-ṭar-um* = I am writing, etc. It is also very interesting that Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian possess another verb, *არ* *ar* = to be, which is a necessary instrument for the formation of various verbal forms. And the abbreviated *არ-ს* *ar-s* = it is = *ა* *a* has just the same function as Sumerian *ám*, *im*, *um* directly attached to a noun: Sumerian *ki-šu-bi-im* = it is a lamentation; Georgian *ტირილი-ა* *tirili-a* = id. Sumerian *I-dé-mu-šu a-ba-ám bar-mu-šu a-ba-ám* = before me who is? behind me who is? = Georgian *ჩემს წინ ვინა-ა* *θems tin vina-a*, *ჩემს უკან ვინა-ა* *θems ukan vina-a* = id.

Moods. (1) *Imperative.* — It would seem that the Sumerian imperative differed completely from the Georgian

imperative. Still, we can perceive some analogies: firstly, that Georgian can also express on some occasions the pure imperative of direct command by the simple verbal root. Sumerian *é-ninnū an-ki-da mû-a* ^d *ningirzu zag-sal* = Eninnu, built in heaven and earth, O Ningirsu, glorify! Georgian ჰკლ *kal* = slay! Then the Georgian imperative proceeds also with prefixes, though in the Sumerian post-fixed imperative the verbal root comes first and the particles follow after, a thing which never happens in Georgian. Sumerian *gar-mu-un-ra-ab* = return him unto (his god). Georgian მო-ჰკლ *mo-h-kal* = slay him! Here the prefix precedes the verbal root.

(2) *Optative of wish and intention, conditional and future emphatic with gen, ge, etc.*—In Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian the optatives, conditionals, and futures are formed in quite another way, having special verbal forms for these moods and tenses; but in one case the particle *gen, ge*, used in Sumerian for the future emphatic, conditional, and optative, may be compared with Mingrelian and Lazian emphatic article ჟო *qo*. This particle is always prefixed to all pronominal prefixes in the verb, like Sumerian *gen, ge*. It communicates more force to the moment in which the action is performed, and is used particularly in the aorist, but also in other tenses. The phenomenon of the vowel harmony which accompanies the use of *gen, ge* in Sumerian is also to be observed in Mingrelian and Lazian. In general, as far as Sumerian *gen, ge* has emphatic force, it corresponds to Mingrelian and Lazian ჟო *qo*. Sumerian *é-a-ni . . . gu-mu-na-dū* = his temple verily I have built for him; *ē-mu-dū-da iti-bi ga-ra-ab-sig* = to build my temple verily a sign I will give thee. Mingrelian ჟო-ვ-ორდი *qo-v-ordi* = I used to be, ჟი-ვ-ყიდე(ნი) *qi-v-kide(ni)* = (if) I was (subjunctive past); here *qi* is used instead of *qo*,

because of the *i* of *v-kide(ni)*. Note also the use of *go* in the following Mingrelian forms: ჟო-დი-ვ-ჟიღე(ნი) *go-di-v-dire(ni)* = if I lay down; ჟო-მა-ღვენუდას *go-ma-ğvenudas* = if I shall have; ჟო-მა-ღვენუ *go-ma-ğvenu* = (verily) I will have; etc. Here all those Mingrelian forms can be used without *go*, and they will preserve their senses of the conditional, future, and optative, but the use of *go* is usual in those moods and tenses, as, for instance, in the simple future we have მა-ღვენუ *ma-ğvenu* = I will have, and in the future emphatic ჟო-მა-ღვენუ *go-ma-ğvenu* = verily I will have. The particle *go* in Lazian has exactly the same function. In Georgian the particle ჰი *hi* corresponds to Lazian and Mingrelian ჟო *go*, but it is always used independently and has the sense of "certainly", "verily". Georgian ჰი წავალ *hi taral* = certainly (verily) I will go. The variant of this *hi* must be, as far as I know, the particle ჰე *que*, dial. ჰე *qe*, employed very often in the Georgian provinces of Imerethi (*qe*) and Rata (*qre*). To the Sumerian *mu-ni é dingir-ra-na-ta dub-ta ġe-im-ta-gar* = may his name from the house of his god, from the tablet be removed, and *na-an-na-tur-tur dé-en-im-mi-dág-a la-bi mu-un-kur-e* = if I say, I will not enter into it, its beauty consumes me (*ġe* optative and *dé(ġe)* conditional), may correspond in Mingrelian and Lazian the constructions with and without ჟო *go* in the optative and conditional. The etymology of these particles ჟო *go* and ჰი *hi* (also *qe*, *qre*) is not clear. It is very tempting indeed to attribute to them the primitive sense of "plurality" like Sumerian *ġen* (𒄩𒄬) = to be abundant, since we have in Georgian ბი *qi*, which denotes the

multitude of a people, and therefore also serves as ethnicon: კოლ-ბი *kol-qi* = a Colchian, მეს-ბი *mes-qi* = a Meschian, etc., this ბ *q* being also the plural ending of the 3rd person in the Svanian verb and გვა *gwa* and ქვა *qwa* Svanian and Abchasian plural particles, but I do not think that ქო, კი, ქვე, ქე *qo, ki, qve, qe* have anything to do with ბი, ბ, გვა, ქვა *qi, q, gwa, qwa*. Besides, that the Sumerian verbal prefix *ge* is derived from the verb *gen* = to be abundant, seems to me a little doubtful.

(3) *Independent Conditional*. — Like Sumerian, in Georgian also the conjunction ოდეს *odes* has a conditional sense, though it is usually employed for the temporal clauses. This Georgian ოდეს *odes* is the same word, we think, as the Sumerian *udda, uda* = if, and the temporal *ud* = when. Indeed, Georgian ოდეს *odes* = when, if, the root being evidently ოდ = *od*. Sumerian *ud-da mu-šú-sam . . . lal-ma ù-na-dúg* = if he buy (a mule) let him say to him "pay me"; *ud-da enim-ba šu-ni-bal-e sašuš-gal a. en-lil-lá . . . ge-šuš* = if he revokes his oath may the great net of Enlil . . . overwhelm him. In Georgian ოდეს მოვიდეს *odes movides* means "when he will come", "when he comes", but also "if he comes", etc. But to express this same conditional Georgian employs another particle, თუ *tu*, with conditional and indicative. Georgian თუ გასტყება ფიცია *tu gasteqa phiθi* = if he has broken the oath, and თუ გასტყებდეს ფიცსა *tu gasteqdes phiθsa* = in the case that he breaks the oath, etc. To the sense of

Sumerian *til* (𐎶) or *tal* (𐎶) conditional corresponds also this same Georgian თუ *tu*. But this latter is very obscure in its etymology. It is very tempting to consider it as a word related to ო-ღ-ეს *od-es*, since the cuneiform sign for *ud* (𐎶) has also another phonetic equivalent, *tu*, which corresponds exactly to the Georgian თუ *tu*, but nothing for certain can be said about them, since the Sumerian *tu* has never been found in the cuneiform texts instead of *ud*.

Tenses.—In the formation of the tenses also only one analogy can be noticed in Sumerian and Georgian. That is the plural ending of the 3rd person *e-ne*, *ne* for the present and the future, and *éš* for the past, in Sumerian, and the ending with the consonant ნ *n* in the present, future, etc., and ეს *es* especially in the aorist, in Georgian. Sumerian *nam-šag-ga mu-tar-ri-éš-a šu na-mu-da-ni-bul-e-ne* = the destiny which they have decreed may they not change; *sib udu-sig-ka-ge-ne . . . azag bi-gar-ri-éš* = the shepherds of the wool-bearing sheep . . . returned money, etc. Georgian ჰ-კლავ-ენ *h-klav-en* = they slay, ჰ-კლავ-დ-ენ *h-klav-d-en* = they were slaying, but მო-ჰ-კლ-ეს *mo-h-kl-es* = they slew; ს-წერ-ენ *s-ter-en* = they write, და-ს-წერ-ენ *da-s-ter-en* = they will write, ს-წერ-დ-ენ *s-ter-d-en* = they were writing, but და-ს-წერ-ეს *da-s-ter-es* = they wrote. Mingrelian ყვიღო-ნა *kvilu-na* = they slay, დო-ყვიღო-ნა *do-kvilu-na* = they will slay, but ყვიღო-ნ-დ-ეს *kvilun-d-es* = they were slaying, დო-ყვიღ-ეს *do-kvil-es* = they slew. Lazian ჟრ-უმ-ან *tar-um-an* = they write, ჟარან-ენ *tarane-n* = they will write,

but ჴარ-ჲ-ეს *tarum-t-es* = they were writing, ჴარ-ეს *tar-es* = they wrote. Now, as to the etymology of those Georgian endings ენ *en* and ეს *es*, we know already that ენ , ან *en, an* are the subjective suffixes of the 3rd person, of pronominal origin. As to ეს *es*, I think that it is also of pronominal origin in the languages of the Georgian group, though for the Lazian ეს *es* Professor N. Marr considers it as a decayed verb with the root ს *s* = to be (L.G. § 70, 6), and for the Georgian ეს *es* he considers this same ეს *es* as the subjective pronominal suffix of the 3rd person (OT, tab. ix). Whatever its origin may be, its correspondence with the Sumerian *eš* is striking, and therefore we have compared the Georgian ეს *es* and the Sumerian *eš*. Besides, the origin of this latter is also wholly obscure.

Negative Particles.—(1) *nu*. To this Sumerian *nu* correspond the Georgian ნუ *nu*, Mingrelian ნუ *nu*, Lazian მო *mo*, and Svanian ნოდ , ნუდ *nom, num*. Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian have also another negative particle: Georgian არა *ara*, ვერ *ver*, Mingrelian ვარ *var*, Lazian ვარ , ვა *var, va*, emphatic ვართი , ვათი , ვართო *varθi, vaθi, vaθo*. The Georgian არა *ara* is employed with the indicative and subjunctive, and the imperatives can be formed in their negative forms also with the negative არა *ara* + subjunctive, and with ნუ *nu* + indicative and subjunctive. Sumerian *di-kud-a-na šu-nu-bal-e* = one does not change his decision; *šag-ga-ni nu-mu-zu* = its meaning I know not. Sumerian negatives *na, nam*, employed only with reference to the future: *igi-na-ši-bar-ri* = may he not look upon it; *gašan-bi-ta nam-ma-ra-e* = unto the queen let none ascend. Georgian

ნუ ჰკლავ *nu hklav* = slay (him) not, but also არ მოჰკლავ *ar mohkla* = id., არ იყოს *ara ikos* = let it not be, may it not be. Mingrelian ვარ მიღუ *var miġu* = I have not, but ნუ მიღუ *nu miġu* = let me not have; Georgian ნუ მაქვს *nu maqs* = id. (indicative), and ნუ მქონდეს *nu mqondes* = may I not have. Also Georgian არ მქონოდა *ar mqonoda* = if I had not = Mingrelian ნუ მიღუდკო *nu miġudko*, etc. Lazian ვარ ბჟარუმ *var btarum* = I write not, but მო ჭარან *mo turan* = let them not write, მო ხაშკათ *mo ħaškaθ* = do not dig. Svanian ნომ ბიხ აღონ *nom ħiθ alas* = do not do that, etc. (JRAS. 1911, O. Wardrop's "English-Svanetian Vocabulary", p. 617.)

(2) *bara*. This *bara* is a very interesting Sumerian word to which the Georgian negative არ *ara*, ვერ *ver*, Mingrelian and Lazian ვარ *var* correspond. The Sumerian *bara* is derived from the noun *bar* = side, outside, and thus *bara* acquired the meaning of the adverb "beside", "on the outside", also of the prepositions "beside", "without", "in lack of". From those meanings arose the negative optative particle *bara*. We think that the etymology of Georgian არ, ვერ *ara, ver* and Mingrelian-Lazian ვარ *var* is the same as for Sumerian *bara* derived from *bar* = side. Indeed, as we have already mentioned, the word for "side" and "flank" and "rib" is in Georgian ფერ-დი *fer-di*, Mingrelian (and also Georgian) გვერ-დი *guer-di*. These Georgian *fer* and *guer* may be the same root as Sumerian *bar*. We think they are

really all the same words, as we shall see more clearly in the Sumerian-Georgian Vocabulary. And, just like Sumerian, Georgian and Lazian-Mingrelian derived from this noun the negative *არა* *ara* = not, Mingrelian-Lazian *ვარ* *var* = id., Georgian *ვერ* *ver* = id. (and perhaps also (1) the adverb *გარ-ედ* *gar-ed* = outside, (2) the preposition *გარ-და* *gar-da* = beside, (3) the noun *კარი* *kar-i* = the door, etc. (see pp. 810-11 above), and also different other nouns, adjectives, etc. Perhaps the Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian negative prefix *უ* *u* (Svanian also *ურ* *ur*) is also of the same origin: *უ-კაცო* *u-kaθo* = without man, *უ-შნო* *u-šno* = without beauty, ugly, etc. Georgian *არა* *ara* has also the same negative optative force as Sumerian *bara*: Sumerian *gīr-ne-ne gīr-a-ni-ta ba-ra-a-teg-ga-e-ne* = their feet to his feet let them not bring nigh; *ki-sur-ra . . . ba-ra-mu-bal-e* = the boundary let him not cross over; Georgian *მე ვარ უფალი ღმერთი შენი და არა იყვნენ შენდა ღმერთნი უცხო-ნი ჩემსა გარეშე* *me var uφali ġmerθi šeni da ara ikvnen* (subjunctive expressing the negative optative) *šenda ġmerθni uθqoni θemsa gareše* = the first commandment of Moses. The Georgian *ვერ* *ver* has the sense of "not being able": *არ ვიღებ* *ar viğeb* = I do not take, but *ვერ ვიღებ* *ver viğeb* = I cannot take.

VI. CONJUNCTIONS

Georgian conjunctions are certainly more numerous than Sumerian conjunctions, and their usage is also different in the great majority of cases, but still even in this domain we can make the following remarks:—

1. In Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian the most frequently and commonly employed copula is Georgian *და da* and Mingrelian-Lazian *დო do*, placed always between two nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. And this *და da* (Mingrelian-Lazian *დო do*) corresponds exactly to the Sumerian *da*, though this latter is suffixed, as *sá-tar an-ki-da me-en* = judge of heaven and earth thou art; *nà za-gin-na guškin ruš-a azag-me-a-bi-da-ta* = with lapis lazuli, glowing gold and with silver, etc. Georgian *კაცი და ქალი kaθi da qali* = man and woman; Mingrelian *კოჩი დო ოსური koθi do osuri* = id., etc. The Sumerian postfix *da* possessing the inherent force of association is employed with the ordinary Sumerian conjunction *bi* and also alone to indicate co-ordination. That is this *da* which may correspond to the Georgian copula *და da*.

2. *ud*. The Sumerian *ud*, *udda* correspond to the Georgian *ოდ-ეს od-es* = when, as we have already mentioned above. The root of the Georgian *odes* is *od > ud*. *Odes* seems to be the adverbial form = *od-es* = at the time, used afterwards as conjunction. Sumerian *ud a.enlil . . . nam-lugal kalam-ma e-na-sum-ma-a* = when Enlil gave him the sovereignty of the land. Georgian *ოდეს მოხვიდე სუფევითა შენითა odes moqvide suφeviθa šeniθa* = when Thou comest in Thy glory.

The second part of the Sumerian compound conjunction *en-udda* corresponds to the Georgian root *ვიდ vid*, which is of the same origin as the verbal root *ვიდ vid* = to go, no doubt connected with Georgian *ოდ(ეს) od(es)* and Sumerian *ud*. Therefore we have Georgian

ვიდ-რე *vid-re* = Sumerian *en-udda* = as long as (Georgian also “until”, “up to”, and the comparative “than”); Sumerian *en-e ud-da al-til-la nam-maḡ-zu ḡe-ib-bi* = as long as he lives may he speak of thy greatness; Georgian ვირე (= ვიდ-რე) ცოცხალვარ, გეყოფი სატირლად და სატკივარად *vire* (= *vid-re*) *θoθqalvar, gekoφi satirlad da satkivarad* (Sh.R. 1284, 4) = as long as I live it is sufficient that thou weepst for me and sufferest because of me.

Sumerian *enna-enna* correspond to the Georgian ან-ან *an-an*, ანუ-ანუ *anu-anu* = either, or. But in Georgian ან *an*, ანუ *anu* are always employed independently: Sumerian *lil-ud-tar-en-na kal-lil-la-en-na ki-el-la-en-na* = either the demon *lil-ud-tar* or the *kal-lillā* or the maid (of the wind); Georgian ანუ მომცეს განკურნება, ანუ მიწა მე სამარი *anu momtes gankurneba, anu mita me samari* (Sh.R. 15, 4) = let (her) give me either the healing (of my sickness) or the earth to be buried.

VII. ADVERBS

The ordinary qualifying adverb is formed in Sumerian by means of the suffix *šú* attached to the adjective: Sumerian *dingir lù-gāl-lu dumu-a-ni-šú šu-bar-zid-zid-dé bur-e-eš ša-ra-da-gub* = the god of the man for his son to accomplish faithfully the absolution humbly stands before thee. In Georgian such adverbs are formed also by suffixing ად *ad* to the adjective: კარგ-ი *karg-i* = good, კარგ-ად *karg-ad* = well. But in Mingrelian and Lazian we have exactly the same formation of qualifying adverbs. “Without the consonantal element the Tubal-Cainian character of the dative serves for the formation

of the adverbs," says Professor Marr (L.G. § 15, *b*). And this consonantal character is just შ *š*, the vowel character being ო *o*. Thus ოშ *oš* must have been the ending of the primitive Tubal-Cainian adverbs. But the modern Lazes say დიდ-ო *did-o*, without შ *š* = very, greatly, the adjective being დიდ-ი *did-i* = great. We have the same in Mingrelian: ჯგირ-ი *dgir-i* = good, ჯგირ-ო *dgir-o* = well. Mingrelian has also another form of adverbs with the ending ას *as*: სქვამ-ა *sqvam-a* = beautiful, სქვამ-ას *sqvam-as* = beautifully; მაღ-ას *mal-as* = quickly, etc. We may mention also the ablative case-ending in Svanian შჷ, ჷშ *šü, üš* = with, as far as the ablative has an adverbial meaning.

Among the simple adverbs we may mention only an interrogative adverb, Sumerian *me* = where? when? which may correspond to იმე *ime* = where? in Svanian. But first of all the above-mentioned likeness of Sumerian *šü* and Lazian ოშ *oš*, Mingrelian ას *as*, is striking. This is more important, because of the regularity of the use of the *š, s* element in formation of adverbs, than the likeness of Sumerian *me* and Svanian *ime*, which may be also fortuitous.

Thus, in all parts of speech Sumerian and Georgian have many striking common features, as we have seen from this comparison. Naturally there are also many things which separate Georgian and Sumerian completely. But what is common to them enables us, I think, to attribute to them both an origin from some common linguistic stem. It must not be forgotten that Sumerian was spoken thousands of years before our era, and Georgian, on the other hand, must have undergone the

influence especially of Semitic languages, since it seems to be an historical truth that the Georgian people sustained a terrible struggle with Semitic peoples and have migrated during the centuries through the whole of Armenia and Asia Minor before being established at last in the Caucasus. The almost incredible stability of the Georgian language is astonishing when we compare it with Armenian or Greek. Relatively, Georgian has preserved its primitive purity and originality so well that its comparison with the languages of other living linguistic groups is as difficult as the comparison of Sumerian itself with various languages. It is for this reason that Georgian has been declared by scholars a separate and independent language, belonging to some primitive independent group of languages. But this "independent group" of Georgian languages has much in common with Sumerian—this still more puzzling riddle of modern philology—and owing to the extraordinary stability of Georgian alone we can to-day reveal its similitude with Sumerian, extinct many centuries B.C. We have seen this likeness when comparing their grammars, and we shall find it still more striking when we come to compare the roots of their words in the second part of this work.

II

NOTES ON SIR AUREL STEIN'S COLLECTION OF TIBETAN DOCUMENTS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

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THIS collection of ancient Tibetan documents, of which I have been engaged in preparing an inventory under an arrangement sanctioned by the India Office, contains close on two thousand pieces, none of them probably of a later date than the ninth century A.D., and is certain to shed a flood of new light on Tibetan archæology, history, grammar, culture, religion, and folklore. Most of the documents were found at two sites, viz. Mīrān and Mazār-tāgh. Mīrān is situated a few miles south of the westernmost end of the present Lop-nōr marshes, while Mazār-tāgh is a low barren ridge rising in the middle of the Taklamakān desert, on the left bank of the Khotan River. In his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. i, pp. 350 seqq., 439 seqq., Sir Aurel Stein has described the remains of the ruined fort which yielded these Tibetan records at the former site. For an account of the excavations which brought to light Tibetan and other documents in abundance from the refuse-layers adjoining the small ruined station on the Mazār-tāgh hill, vol. ii, pp. 417 seqq., may be consulted.

The documents were in both localities found scattered among the abundant deposits of refuse resulting from prolonged occupation by a Tibetan garrison. In part they may represent the last remains of ancient archives. That the Tibetans of the seventh and eighth centuries kept archives is made probable by the word *yig-dkar-cag*, "register of letters," which occurs in the documents. The word "register of debts" is also found in one of the documents.

Although many of the documents, especially the wooden ones, are in good preservation, the number of those which contain a fuller connected text is rather small. Of most of the documents on paper one-half only has been preserved. As Dr. Barnett, of the British Museum, observes, this fact reminds one of a custom in ancient Europe, according to which tallies were cut in two and each party received one half of the stick. Most of the wooden documents are labels containing addresses. These labels were probably tied to the various packages on transport of provisions or other articles. Other short wooden documents which were apparently used by tax-collectors on their journeys to the taxpayers are of a similar character, viz. they do not contain much besides personal and local names. All these documents, however, yield a very rich harvest of ancient Tibetan names, local as well as personal, and it will take us a long time before all the local names have been identified or all the personal names have been properly grouped. In a number of cases, of course, we cannot yet decide whether a now unknown name is of local or personal character.

At first sight the names give the impression that Tibet must have undergone great changes since the time when they were recorded. The Tibetan names of the present day are mostly Buddhist, and may in almost every case be understood at first sight as regards their meaning. It is surprising to find that a great number of the names contained in the Stein Collection do not show their significance so readily. They consist partly of syllables which have been lost to the Tibetan language during the last twelve hundred years. Such syllables are: *bzher*, *gsas*,¹ *kong* (or *khong*). The meaning of the syllables *rma* and *myes* is also uncertain, although *rma* may be connected with *rma-bya*, peacock, and *myes* with *mes-po*, forefather.

¹ *gSas* seems to be a Bonpo deity. "Shrines of *gSas*" are mentioned in the Bonpo chronicles, revised by Dr. Laufer: *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ii, No. 1.

In the following some specimens of names occurring in the Stein Collection are given :—

Compounds with *bzher*: *rGyal-bzher*, *Gling-bzher*, *gNyan-bzher*, *sTag-bzher*, *sKyi-bzher*, *Mang-bzher*, *Khri-bzher*, *Klu-bzher*, *'aPhan-bzher*, *sKyed-bzher*, *rMa-bzher*, *lHa-bzher*, *dGe-bzher*, *bPal-bzher*, *mThso-bzher*, *gSum-bzher*, *Kon-bzher*, *Khrom-bzher*, *lDong-bzher*, *sTong-bzher*, *sNang-bzher*, *Zla-bzher*.

Compounds with *rma*: *sTong-rma*, *Klu-rma*, *Zla-rma*, *mDo-rma*, *Legs-rma*, *rMa-legs*, *Mang-rma*, *rGya-rma*, *Khri-rma*, *sKu-rma*, *Khrom-rma*, *lHa-rma*, *mThong-rma*, *rMa-sbu*.

Compounds with *myes*: *Myes-slebs*, *Myes-rtsebs*, *Myes-thong*, *Myes-legs*, *Myes-byin*, *dBā-myes-thsab*.

Compounds with *khong* (or *kong*): *Legs-kong*, *Khong-snang*, *Khong-bzang*, *Chab-kong*, *'aPhan-kong*, *dPal-kong*, *Khrom-kong*, *Yang-kong*, *'aDron-kong*.

Compounds with *gsas*: *Gang-gsas*, *gSas-chung*, *gSas-kong*, *gSas-seng*, *gSas-btsan*, *lHa-gsas*, *Phag-gsas*, *gSas-slebs*, *Klu-gsas*, *gSas-legs*, *Nya-gsas*, *sGor-gsas*, *gSas-ston*.

Among those names which may be understood more readily I may mention the following :—

Compounds with *skyes*, born: *rMang-skyes*, *Khrom-skyes*, *lHa-ri-skyes*, *Mon-thse-skyes*, *sTag-skyes*, *lHa-skyes*, *gSas-skyes*, *A-yul-skyes*, *Ga-cu-skyes*, *Yul-skyes*, *'aBrug-skyes*, *Rab-skyes*, *Yang-skyes*, *sKyes-legs*, *sKyes-bzang* (= Eugene), *sDug-skyes*, *Kog-gsas-skyes*, *Myes-skyes*, *sTag-lung-skye[s]*.

Compounds with *slebs*, arrived: *Rlang-khri-slebs*, *sTag-slebs*, *lTag-slebs*, *Mye-slebs*, *rMang-slebs*, *gSas-slebs*, *mKhar-slebs*, *Kong-slebs*, *sKyes-slebs*, *lHa-slebs*, *sPe-slebs*, *Myes-slebs*.

Compounds with *lha*, god: *lHa-sgra*, *lHa-bzher*, *lHa-bzang*, *lHa-skyes*, *lHa-dpal*, *lHa-'abrug*, *lHa-thubs*, *lHa-rma*, *lHa-'ago*, *lHa-zung*.

Compounds with *klu*, nāga : *Klu-bzang*, *Klu-rma*, *Klu-gang*, *Klu-rgyal*, *Klu-sgu*, *Klu-sgra*, *Klu-gso*, *Klu-nya*, *Klu-legs*, *Klu-gsas*, *Klu-bzher*, *Klu-rton*, *Klu-brtan*, *Klu-zigs*, *Klu-srong*, *Klu-sto*, *Klu-gtsug*.

Compounds with *stag*, tiger : *sTag-bzher*, *sTag-bzang*, *sTag-sgra*, *sTag-stag-rtan*, *sTag-snya*, *sTag-gung*, *sTag-dge*, *sTag-dpal-legs*, *sTag-skyes*, *sTag-sras*.

Compounds with *khro*, anger : *Khro-btsan*, *Khro-bzang*, *Khro-lha*.¹

Compounds with *btsan* (or *brtsan*), strong, majestic : *lHa-brtsan*, *Khro-btsan*, *bTsan-gsum*, *bTsan-gzigs*, *gSas-btsan*, *mDo-brtsan*, *Dro-brtsan*, *Khri-btsan*.

Compounds with *khri*, throne : *Khri-gzigs*, *Khri-bzher*, *'aPhan-khri*, *Khri-gdas*, *Khri-m[r]dzes*, *Khri-btsan*, *Khri-rma*, *Khri-ldem*, *Khri-skugs*, *dPal-khri*.

Compounds with *dpal*, glory : *dPal-bzher*, *Nyi-dpal-bzang*, *dPal-grub*, *dPal-gyi-rin-chen*, *dPal-khri*, *dPal-kong*, *'aJam-dpal*, *sTag-dpal-legs*.

Compounds with *'abrug*, dragon : *'aBrug-legs*, *'aBrug-skyes*, *lHa-'abrug*.

Compounds with *spreu*, monkey : *lHa-spre*, *sPreu-phrug*, *sPreu-rgan*, *sPreu-thse*, *'O-nal-spre*.

Warrior's names are the following : *sTag-dpā-legs*, good tiger-hero ; *dGra-'adul*, subduer of enemies ; *Khra-stag-chung*, falcon, little tiger ; *dGra-dog-rje*, lord over the terror of the enemies ; *Ham-p[h]ags*, high courage ; *Pho-gseng*, male lion.

lDong, the name of a Tibetan tribe, is also found in several compound names ; for instance, *lDong-'adus*, *dGe-ldong*, *lDong-bzang*. But we do not yet know whether they are local or personal names.

The following names appear to be of foreign origin : *Jir-kin*, *Du-ron*, *Kho-mo-cin*, *Ho-peng*, *An-phan* (the Chinese Amban ?), *Se-kyo-yo*, *Ti*, *Bor-lod*, *Lo-lo*, *A-ma-cha*

¹ Several Bonpo deities have names composed with the syllable *khro*. There are four great *Khro-bo*.

(this corresponds to the modern Tibetan pronunciation of Ahmed Shah).¹

Although not a single royal name has as yet been found among the names of the Stein Collection,² several of the names are of historical interest, as they agree with ministers' names given in the old stone-edicts of lHasa. (See Lieut.-Col. Waddell's edition in the JRAS. 1910, 1911.) Thus the names of the famous ministers *rJe-blas* and *sTag-sgra*, of the Potala inscription of A.D. 730, are repeatedly mentioned on documents of the Stein Collection. The same may be said with regard to the ministers *Khri-bzher* and *sTag-bzher* of the Potala inscription of A.D. 764, and several names of ministers occurring in the inscription of A.D. 783. As regards the names on the stone-edicts, they are generally compounds of personal names and clan-names. The Stein documents, on the other hand, generally give only the personal names, at any rate in all those cases when a famous and well-known minister is addressed. For this reason the identification of the names found in the Stein Collection and on the stone pillars at lHasa cannot yet be called perfect, but it is quite probable that both authorities treat of the same personages.

Although royal names are not found in the documents of the Stein Collection, several of them seem to refer to kings, either of the whole of Tibet or of vassal states. The wish "May your helmet remain firm!" was addressed to royalty in those days as well as in quite recent times.

As regards the religious side of the question, a good number of the names are of Bonpo character. I may mention the names which contain the word *lha*, god (of the pre-Buddhist pantheon), and *Klu* (Nāga), *gSas*, *Khro*, as one of their compound parts. The principal part of the

¹ [This name may be connected with the title *A-mo-chih*, attested by the Chinese historical records for the rulers of Khotan in the eighth century; see *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, pp. 176, 266, 523.—Stein.]

² *Mu-khri* occurs as a minister's name.

name of the founder of the Bon religion, viz. *gShen-rab*, is found in several personal names; for instance, in *gShend-sum-bu*, *sKu-gshen*, *gShen-phan-legs*, etc. A few names remind us also of names occurring in the Kesar-saga, the old epic of Tibet. *bKra-shis*, the name of the smith of the saga, occurs among the names of the documents; the same is the case with regard to *Khyung-po* (Garuda) and *rGya-byin* (god Indra). The name *Khrai-sgo* of the documents is in all probability identical with *Khrai-mgo* of the Kesar-saga. (It must not be forgotten that we do not yet know the correct spelling of many names occurring in the latter.) Names which are compounds of *khro* or *khrom*, both meaning "anger" in certain connexions, and the name *Khro-mo-cin*, remind us of *Agu Khromo* of the saga. The name *Klu-sgu* of the documents is probably identical with the second part of the name *Cu-ru-lu-gu* of the saga. The last two syllables seem to represent *klu-dgu*, nine nāgas, and this may be the meaning also of *klu-sgu*, for prefixes may be exchanged.

Names of women are extremely rare in the documents. *rGya-mo* is the name of a female slave; *mNā-ma* occurs once as the writer of a letter, but the word means "daughter-in-law".

Buddhist names are also of rare occurrence. On entering a monastery a man received a new Buddhist name. Thus we read that a man who was formerly called *'U-tung-gsas-chung* received the name *Byang-chub-bkra-shis* when he entered a monastery. Other Buddhist names are: *gZhon-nu-dpal-grub*, *sPyan-ras* (probably), *Byang-chub*, *Yon-tan-seng-ge*, *dGe-bsnyen* (Upāsaka), *Sha-ri-bu* (Śāriputra), *lHa-sbyin* (Devadatta), *rDo-rje* (Vajra), *rDo-rje-dgyangs*, *'aJam-dpal* (Mañjuśrī), *Com-ldan-'adas* (Bhagavān), *dGe-mthso*.

Several names are of interest as having been observed also in documents of Ladakh or other literature. Thus the name *gYu-sgra* is found in the Stein Collection, and

the same name is also given in the *bTsun-mo-bkai-thang-yig*, which professes to date from Padmasambhava's time, edited by Dr. B. Laufer. The syllables *sMer-zhang* form part of one of the names in the Stein Collection, and several names containing the same syllables are found on the boulders near the bridge of Khalatse.¹ *gZhon-nu-dpal-grub*, a name occurring in the Stein Collection, reminds us of the famous monk *gZhon-nu-dpal*, whose name occurs in many works of Buddhist church-history. The name *'aBum-rdugs* of the Stein Collection is identical with the second half of the name *Khri-shong-'aBum-rdugs*, which is found in the *sBa-lu-mkhar* inscription. Another similar combination, viz. the name *'aBum-rdugs-khri-skugs*, is also found in the Stein Collection. Then the name *Khro-btsan* of the Stein Collection recalls the name *bTsan-khro* of the *Khyung-rang-'abyon* inscription.

In many cases the personal names are found in connexion with titles. The most ordinary title of the documents is perhaps that of a minister, or *blon-po*, abridged *blon*. There are, however, various kinds of ministers, as, for instance, *rJe-blon*, a high minister; *The-blon*, minister of seals; *dGra-blon*, minister of enemies, probably "minister of war"; *So-blon*, minister of guards; *Khri-blon*, throne-minister; *Phyi-blon*, minister of outward affairs; and *Zhang-blon*, uncle minister.

The latter title, together with other similar titles, as, for instance, *Zhang-zhang*, reduplicated uncle, *rGya-zhang*, chief uncle, *Khu-gu*, uncle, reminds us of the title *Agū*, "uncle," of the heroes of the Kesar-saga, as well as of the title *mum-mo*, uncle, in the ancient Dard hymnal, "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival."² In the old days it was apparently customary to call a superior by a familiar name. In correspondence to the word "uncle" the word *thsa-bo*, nephew, is occasionally found.

¹ "Historische Dokumente von Khalatse": ZDMG, Bd. lxi.

² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxiv.

Other titles are: *Nang-rje-po*, the great man of the inside, which I have usually translated by "Minister of Inner Affairs"; *Kha-ga* (modern *Ga-ga*), nobleman; *Jo-cho* or *Jo-co* (modern *Jo-bo*), lord. I may note that in modern West-Tibetan the form *Jo-jo* is generally used for noble ladies, but in the Stein Collection the title *Jo-co* seems to refer to men; *rTse-rje*, high summit (the sphere of work of this official has not yet become plain, perhaps he was a magistrate); *Yi-ge-pa*, secretary; *sPyi-yi-ge-pa*, general secretary; *gNyer*, steward; *sDe-po*, head of a tribe; *mKhar-pa*, head of a castle; *Khams-kyi-dbang-po* seems to have been the title of the *major domus* who played such an important part in old Tibet. This title is given to *Blon-rgyal-gSum-bzher*, the royal minister *gSum-bzher*.

Another group of titles consists of compounds with the word *dpon*, master. The following kinds of *dpon* have been noticed in the Stein Collection: *Ru-dpon*, perhaps "master of a clan" (*rus*); *'Og-dpon*, lower officer, subaltern officer; *Zhing-dpon*, master of the fields (this title is still used nowadays: a *Zhing-dpon* is the man who has to regulate the irrigation of the fields); *sTong-dpon*, master of thousands, colonel; *dMag-dpon*, army officer; *dPhung-dpon*, master of the host; *Chibs-dpon*, master of the horse; *Khral-dpon*, tax-officer; *dNgos-dpon*, perhaps "frontier officer"; the title *Thsugs-dpon* cannot yet be exactly explained; it may be the title of a magistrate. Also the title *Khong-ta* cannot yet be translated.

As regards local names, we find a great number of them. The greater part seems to refer to districts or settlements in Turkestan and Tibet. Other countries do not seem to be referred to so often. The word *rgya*, in connexion with weights, may refer to India as well as China. We read of *Bod-bre* and *rGya-bre* in the documents. Whilst the word *Bod-bre* certainly refers to Tibetan weights, we do not yet know whether *rGya-bre*

means "weights of China" (*rGya-nag*) or "weights of India" (*rGya-gar*). Other foreign countries mentioned in the documents are the following: *Hirad* may be Herat in Persia; *sNa-nam* is the name of Samarkand, according to Jäschke; *Sog-po* would refer to Mongolia; *Ho-peng* may be in China; *Mon* is the Tibetan name of the Himalayan districts of India. The latter name is found in several personal names, as, for instance, *Mon-chung*, *Mon-khyi-gu-chung*.

Looking at names referring to Turkestan, the most important identification has been that by Dr. Stein of *Nob* with *Lob* or *Lop*. He says in his letter of October 19, 1910: "*Nob-chen*, 'Great Nob,' was probably the name of the Tibetan station at Mirān. Topographical and archæological reasons compel me to believe that *Nob* is the Tibetan attempt at reproducing an ancient local name. The same name is spelt *Na-fo-po* by Hsüan-tsang, while Marco Polo writes *Lop*. *Nob-chung*, 'Little Nob,' may be identical with Chärklik (about 50 miles W.S.W. of Mirān)." [Compare now regarding these local names *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. i, pp. 447 seqq.] Let me add that still another name referring to *Nob* is found in the documents; it is the name *Nob-shod*, or "Lower Nob". "Three castles of Nob" are occasionally mentioned, and the name of a castle situated in Little Nob was *Nob-chung-ngu-gYung-drung-rtse*.

Another local name which may be connected with Turkestan is *Li*. According to the dictionaries, *Li* is the Tibetan name of Khotan. I suppose that in the documents it refers to a larger tract of country. This name is not often found singly; in most cases we find it connected with other, probably often personal, names. Such compound names are: *Li-snang*, *Li-mngan*, *Li-bu-god*, *Li-gos-de*, *Li-shir-de*, *Li-hir-bod*, *Li-gchig-chad*, *Li-rje*, *Li-sa-bdad*. The Tibetan name *Hor*, for Turkestan, is also found in the Stein Collection.

Tibetan local names which have become known from Tibetan geography occur also among the documents. The following may be mentioned: *rGod-tsang*, *lHo-brag*, *Nag-shod*, *Khams*, *'aBrom*, *dBus*, *Chog-ro*, *Bu-srang-gi-sde* (perhaps identical with *Bu-hrangs*, modern Purang), *Nang-gong* (Baltistan), *sTong-sde* (perhaps in Zangs-dkar), *Gle* (very probably the capital of Ladakh, Leh—in the old chapters of the chronicles the spelling *Gle* as well as *Sle* is used for Leh). *mNgaris* seems to be used as a name of the western parts of Tibet. In the old parts of the chronicles it is used as a name of the West Tibetan Empire. *Byang-po* is the name of the *lHa-sa* district. *'A-zha*, a name found often in the Padmasambhava literature, is supposed to be identical with the present *Gar-zha* or *Ga-zha*, Lahul. In the Stein documents *'A-zha* is once called *rGya-la-gtogs-pa*, belonging to *rGya*. The village of *rGya* seems to have been the capital of Western Tibet (*rGya-sde*) in ancient times.

Although in many cases we cannot yet decide whether a certain name is of local or personal character, a good number of local names are furnished with the attributes *sde*, province, or *rtse*, summit, and thereby sufficiently characterized. The following are some of the names furnished with the syllable *sde*: *Bro-thsams-kyi-sde*, *Lang-myii-sde*, *Byan-po-rgod-lding-gi-sde*, *Nyen-kar-gyi-sde*, *'aBrong-tsams-kyi-sde*, *'aDzom-smad-kyi-sde*, *Thong-kyab-kyi-sde*, *Khrom-legs-kyi-sde*, *Ngam-ru-pag-gi-sde*, *Shang-sde*, *'O-thsol-gi-sde*, *sPyi-rtsang-gi-sde*, *Yel-rab-gyi-sde*, *mNyal-bai-sde*, *Khri-dang-gi-sde*, *sKya-stod-gi-sde*, *Khri-boms-kyi-sde*, *Nag-shing-gi-sde*.

The following are some of the compounds with *rtse*, summit: *lHa-rtse*, *Bye-ma-rdor-gyi-rtse*, *Klu-rtse*, *sTag-rtse*, *mDong-rtse*, *Chu-rtse*.

Fairly often local and personal names are found combined, and experience has shown me that in such cases the first name is always the local, and the second

the personal name. The first local name is to be taken as the birth-place of the person mentioned thereafter. *Lang-myi-sde-zhims-stag* means "*Zhims-stag* of the province of *Lang-myi*". '*A-zha-yang-bre* means "*Yang-bre* of '*A-zha*'".

Lakes and rivers do not often seem to be mentioned. I have noticed the following: *mKhar-'athso* probably stands for *mKhar-mthso*, lake of the castle; *Mye-long*, mirror, is apparently the name of a lake, also *sPrul-gyi-mye-long*, enchanting mirror; *Khyung-byi-tsa-mthso-gong* means "upper lake of *Khyung-byi-tsa*". The expression *Sho-rtsang-'agram-du* means "on the shore (bank) of *Sho-rtsang*".

The documents of the Stein Collection contain a great number of dates. Although they generally give the numbers of days and months and the name of the year, they are not of much use to the historian, for the names of the year invariably refer to the cycle of twelve years only. All the same, the documents furnish us with material to prove the veracity of the Tibetan (Ladakhi) chronicles, where we find a statement to the effect that the Chinese calendar was introduced into Tibet under *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* (seventh century). The cycle of twelve years was apparently all that became known to the Tibetans of those days, and we cannot help feeling suspicious when a Tibetan chronicle, in describing the times between A.D. 600 and 1,000, makes use of the cycle of sixty years. This is the case in particular in the chronicles of Central Tibet, whilst the chronicles of Ladakh use the twelve years' cycle down to the fifteenth century. It is well known that the dates of reigns given in the sixty years' cycles of Central Tibetan chronicles are not in agreement with the dates given by Chinese historians for the corresponding reigns. Nobody would ever doubt the accuracy of the Chinese statements. Thus we are driven to believe that the dates in the sixty years' cycle, referring to early times and given in Central Tibetan

chronicles, are fabrications of a later time, when the sixty years' cycle had become known in Tibet. The Ladakhi chronicles, which are free from such erroneous dates, may be far more reliable works than the Central Tibetan works.

The Tibetans of those times had a system of twelve months, which were called after the four seasons: *dpyid*, spring; *dbyar*, summer; *ston*, autumn; and *dgun*, winter. Each season had three months, called the first, the middle one, and the last, as follows:—

<i>dpyid-sla-ra-ba.</i>	<i>ston-sla-ra-ba.</i>
„ <i>'abring-po.</i>	„ <i>'abring-po.</i>
„ <i>mtshā-chungs.</i>	„ <i>mtshā-chungs.</i>
<i>dbyar-sla-ra-ba.</i>	<i>dgun-sla-ra-ba.</i>
„ <i>'abring-po.</i>	„ <i>'abring-po.</i>
„ <i>mtshā-chungs.</i>	„ <i>mtshā-chungs.</i>

How many days each of these months was given we do not yet know.

There are a few passages in the documents which seem to point to a different, perhaps more ancient, calendar, as follows: *gYui-lo*, turquoise-year; *gShol-'abor-bai-sla*, month of putting aside the plough; *'aTron-kong-gi-sla*, month of diligence; *sKyald-gyi-sla*, month of sending.

Among the complete documents we find a great number which apparently originated with tax-collectors. They are of two styles. One of them consists of tablets of a length of about 30–40 cm., square in section. They show notches at their edges, evidently intended to mark the number of bushels of grain contributed by various taxpayers. In writing, we find such words as “barley”, “wheat”, “millet”, “grass”, “horse-fodder”, written close to the notches, whilst the names of peasants and notes regarding their payments are found at the other end of the tablet. The other kind of tax-collector's documents consists of short wooden tablets, coloured red on the surface. The right lower corner is generally cut out

purposely, apparently to mark them specially. They also show notches and short notes in writing, like the other kind of documents. Thus we read: "Six *bre* of barley were not received," and then "Received later on", or "Four *bre* of barley were received afterwards". Sometimes we find the two words, *bab*, taxes, and *thar*, free, and nothing else, on the same piece of wood. Then we may suppose that the person who held the document was free from taxes.

There is another kind of document, marked by a broad stroke of red colour, running round the middle. I have not yet been able to discover what these may have in common. To say that they are messages from Government would not mean much, considering that most of the documents are of an official character. On one of these documents the red stroke was apparently painted with blood.

As regards the general character of the contents of the better-preserved documents on paper and wood, we find there lawsuits, inventories, distribution-lists of provisions or presents, demands for military assistance or for more provisions, arrangements for the service of the guards or sentinels, complaints that wages or rewards were not given, reports of illness, prayers for medicine, accounts of debts, appointments to some post, lists of transports of arms, etc. In the latter lists we read of shields, bows and arrows, arrow-blades, arrow-flags, helmets, swords, coats of arms. There are a few documents which contain something like records of battles. These notes are, however, not of much use to the historian, as they are very meagre, and cannot be dated. A note like "The *Rong-lings* country was seized" does not help us at all at the present stage of Tibetan historical research. An interesting lawsuit is that about the sale of a slave called *rGyal-phu-tsab*. The price amounted to 8 weights of *dMar* (= *dmar-gro*, red wheat?). In

case the slave should run away, the former owner was bound to provide another servant (slave) of the same capacity. Underneath this document as well as underneath many others the names or the seals of the forty-four chief witnesses (*dpang-rgya*) are given. These forty-four formed a court of witnesses, and it is of interest that the number forty-four is also found as that of certain officials in the account of *gNya-khri-btsan-po*, in the Ladakhi chronicles.

A considerable number of documents refer to the *so-pa* (watch, spy, sentinel), i.e. to those soldiers who had to do military service on the frontier or (probably) in unreliable districts. This service had to be done in turns, and it was not only a round of service among individuals, but among tribes. Whenever the term "turn of service" refers to an individual, we may be sure that the same is an officer. In one document we hear of two officers, who had exchanged their turns of service and done service for one another during their respective turns.

Besides the *so-pa*, the documents mention the *'adrul-ba* (= *'agrul-ba*), runners, very often. I am convinced that these "runners" were postal runners. Ancient Tibet and Turkestan seem to have been in enjoyment of an institution similar to that of present-day India, where the post-runners still have to do a great part of the postal work. Passages like the following occur repeatedly among the documents: "As the runners are just leaving, I take the opportunity to write you the following words." Besides the *'adrul-ba*, the *bang-chen* or *bang-ka-pa*, swift messengers, are occasionally mentioned. One document which speaks of a *pho-nya*, or "messenger", is impressed with a seal showing a rider galloping. It looks almost like a stamp insuring quick service.

Several letters are of an entirely intimate and familiar character, and there is hardly a single piece where the personal tone is altogether wanting. Inquiries after

health are found continually, and joy is expressed at good news or at the expectation to see the other's "good face" (once "his face which looks like sun and moon") again. Good wishes for health or long life generally conclude the letters. We get the impression that many of these phrases have become conventional. There are some letters which contain nothing besides such conventional phrases. We must not forget, however, that in most of these letters we have before us the correspondence of a number of high officials who may have been closely related to one another, besides being related to the royal family. In Ladakh we know for certain that the royal family intermarried with the families of high ministers. In Ladakh the title or name *btsan*, *btsan-po*, would indicate that a certain person was descended from the royal family. I suspect that all those ministers mentioned in the documents whose names show the syllable *btsan* were related to royalty. But on the whole we get the impression that not only the high officials, but a great part of the population, knew reading and writing. A cook as well as a baker are found among the addressed persons, and peasants write letters to the court when they wish to accuse a certain person.

Special terms of civility found in the documents are the following: the writer speaks of himself as "I, a bad one" (*bdag-ngan-pa*); he places his letter before the feet of the addressed person (*zha-sngar* seems to be an abbreviation of *zhabs-sngar*); a ruler is greeted with the wish, "may your helmet remain firm!"

It is of interest that a number of documents contain fragments of the Tibetan alphabet. They may represent portions of copy-books used by beginners in the art of reading and writing. They are, of course, of great importance, because they belong to times not long after the alleged invention of the Tibetan alphabet by Thon-mi-sambhota. From the fragments we learn that the old alphabet was hardly different from the alphabet of thirty

letters as used nowadays. There is one piece in the collection which contains a full alphabet, but some of the characters were omitted and added later on; the latter are somewhat indistinct. It is of particular interest to see that the letter *ba*, which may be pronounced *va*, is not always placed between *pha* and *ma*, where we find it in the modern Tibetan alphabet, but between *la* and *sha* (ś), where the *va* was placed in the Sanskrit alphabet. The letter *ṭa* (inverted *ta*) appears occasionally in the Stein Collection, and *wa* is written as a combination of 'a and *ba*, not *la* and *ba* as it is written nowadays. I shall not now enter into detail regarding palæographical questions, because I have treated them fully in an article on the Tibetan alphabet written for the *Epigraphia Indica*. Two of the documents of the Stein Collection seem to be a fragment of a syllabary. They contain repetitions of the same consonant, furnished with all four vowel-signs and the Anusvāra.

A particular class of documents seems to refer to the distribution of fields, probably after the conquest of a new district. There we find personal names or titles followed by a numeral referring to "dor of field". The word *dor* is not known from other Tibetan literature, but it is evident that in the documents of the Stein Collection it is the name of a measure of area. As regards agriculture, the documents mention the following occupations: *zhing-pa* seems to be an ordinary field-labourer, *chun-pa* is the person who irrigates the fields. Ploughing of the fields and threshing of the grain is repeatedly mentioned. Punishment is announced for all who let the water dry up (*chab-rkam-bgyid-pa*). The most remarkable discovery is, however, that "maps of the fields" (*zhing-'agod* = *zhing-bkod*) are referred to in one of the documents.

A certain number of wooden documents are furnished with a carefully cut socket at one end of the tablet. As we know from a few better preserved specimens, this

deepening was filled with clay, and a seal was probably impressed on the latter. As regards the writing found on these documents furnished with seals, it never contains much beyond addresses. This leads me to believe that what remains now is never the complete document. The wooden boards may represent only the cover of the paper document which was originally packed between them.¹ As, however, writing material was rare in Turkestan, the wooden documents were used several times, the old writing being scratched off to make room for a new text. Thus the documents furnished with deepenings for seals may also have been used again for less important documents, and several of them appear like ordinary labels.

Paper must have been a rather rare article, for we find it occasionally mentioned as a little present offered to the addressee, if the latter was in a high position. The custom not to approach a person in a high position without a little present was apparently in vogue in those early days. Most of the paper documents contain different letters on their two sides, and there are a few palimpsests in the collection.

Regarding measures, the following may be gathered from the documents: a *khal* is a horse-load; a *srang* seems to be a smaller weight, but it is probably more than an ounce, as we find it described in Jäschke's Dictionary. A *bre* is a still smaller weight, 4 pints according to Jäschke. As stated above, there are two kinds of *bre*, the *bod-bre* and *rgya-bre*, viz. the Tibetan and the Indian (or Chinese) *bre*. Also the word *rdo-gram* seems to signify a weight. Silver was probably counted by *dbyam* or bars, whilst for gold and jewels the word *zho*

¹ [Judging from the shape of these small tablets and the analogy of many Chinese documents of the Han period found along the ancient Tun-huang Limes, it seems more probable that missives of this kind were meant merely to authenticate verbal messages and orders which the person carrying the tablets was to deliver.—*Stein.*]

($=\frac{1}{10}$ ounce) is used. Of great interest is the following equation, found in one of the documents: $\frac{1}{2}$ *zho* of gold = 3 *zho* of silver.¹

Among the articles forwarded in trade, or taken as taxes or as spoil of war, we find the following mentioned: kinds of grain are, *gro*, wheat; *nas*, barley; *khre* and *chi-thse*, two kinds of millet; *rta-bra-bo*, horse-buck-wheat; 'abras may stand for "rice", although it may as well be translated by "fruit"; 'abras-skam would be "dry rice" or "dry fruit"; *rtsa*, grass or fodder, is also repeatedly mentioned. The words "black", "white", or "red" in connexion with kinds of grain, may refer to black or white barley or wheat, or to red rice, etc. Favourite products of the garden were: *la-phug*, radishes; *rgun*, grapes; *kham*, dried apricots; perhaps even carrots. Products of the flocks were: *mar*, butter; *thud*, cheese; *zhun-mar*, melted butter, probably the Indian *ghī*; dried yak-meat. I may mention that great stores of "old meat" and "old butter" play an important part in the Kesar-saga. *sPod*, spices, were required for the preparation of dishes. *sKyems*, beverage, is probably the name of the ordinary Tibetan beer prepared of green barley. It was required for weddings and for the New Year's festival, and kept in *thul* (*skyems-thul*), leather bags. A particular kind of beer may have been the *sog-skyems*, Mongolian beer. Of fabrics we hear at least of two kinds, viz., *snam*, the ordinary woollen cloth of Tibet, and *men-thri*, a kind of cloth which has not yet been specified. *Pha-thsa* seems to stand for *phad-thsa*, coarse sackcloth. *Thsos-bul* is probably dyed wool; *gtan* are carpets, perhaps the felt-carpets of Turkestan.²

¹ [Marco Polo records exactly the same relative value of gold and silver for Western Yünnan at the close of the thirteenth century; cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, iii, ii, pp. 79, 95.—Stein.]

² [Carpet-weaving was an ancient art of Khotan; cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i, p. 134.—Stein.]

Of mineral articles the following are mentioned: soda-copper (at any rate *zang-bu*, copper kettles), gold, silver, turquoises, pearls, corals. *rDzen* seem to be clay-pots; but what *skyogs* are cannot yet be decided; it may mean cups or ladles.

Looking at the animal world, we notice that practically all the animals mentioned in the documents are used for transport. Of horses, a particular breed, that of Amdo, is mentioned in one of the fragments. This is of particular interest, because this breed is of great fame even nowadays. Mules and donkeys were hired out, and quarrels arose about the latter. Goats, and probably sheep also, had to carry loads—in particular, wool. Camels, yaks, and oxen are not so often mentioned. It looks as if yaks, as well as horses, were occasionally used for sacrifices. As regards horses, the local name *mchibs-yongyi-sde*, province of the horse-sacrifice, would point in that direction. From some documents we learn that horses suffered occasionally from epidemics.

Although the documents containing Buddhist literature are not included in the collection with which my inventory deals, we get a few glimpses at the religious state of Tibet in the eighth century. Judging from personal names, Buddhism was not yet powerful at the time of the documents. Buddhist priests are mentioned occasionally, but the title *bla-ma* (with the feminine article *ma*) is never found. Titles like *rje-bla* or *sku-bla* may refer to priests, but we are not certain. The most common title used for priests is *ban-de*, but also *dge-'adun* and *btsund-pa* are found. Nuns are called *ban-de-mo* or *btsun-mo*. Other titles used for higher ranks of Buddhist priests are *mkhan-po*, abbot, and *chos-rje*, prince of religion. A Buddhist temple is called *gTsug-lag-khang*. *Theg-khang-rnying*, old house of the vehicle, seems to be the name of a monastery.

The Bonpo priests were apparently known as *Bon-po*,

lha-myi, *mngan* (sorcerer); perhaps also as *gYon-len*, taking the left. The latter name may refer to their custom to keep the honoured person or object on their left when circumambulating him or it. Also the Bonpo form of the Svastika is repeatedly found among the documents.

Although a few religious charms occur in the collection, the *ōm maṇi padme hūm* formula has not yet been discovered. *Ōm ā hūm* was apparently popular, and *vadzra paṇi phaṭ* can also be traced.

Religious ceremonies are referred to, but we do not yet know whether they were in every case performed by Buddhist or Bonpo priests. The word *sku-rim* (a religious ceremony in time of illness, practically the exorcising of the spirits in the illness) is found several times. A *smān-yon* seems to be an offering to a *smān* or evil spirit; *chab-yon* is a "water offering". As stated above, yaks were apparently offered according to one document, and a local name makes horse-sacrifices probable. Before starting on a journey an astrologer was apparently asked to look out for a good day. A few documents seem to treat of religious persecution. They may refer to the struggle between the Buddhist and the Bonpo religions in the eighth century.

The title *sMan-pa* may be that of a doctor. In one of the documents a recipe is given regarding a medicine to be "smeared on a corpse", probably to preserve it. It consists of sheep-dung boiled with a little water "until it melts", butter, barley, etc. A few names of diseases occur, but we do not yet know what their nature was. Such names are: *yams*, *grums*, *gcong*, *'abring-nad*.

The style of the letters and secular documents is absolutely different from that of the classical language as it has become known from Buddhist religious literature. The language of the latter has practically remained stationary, for the fragments of Buddhist literature as

found in the ancient sites of Turkestan show the same language as the present editions of the *bKā-'agjur* and the *bsTan-'agjur*. The language of the secular documents of the eighth century, on the other hand, is full of constructions with the auxiliary *mchis*, which is very rarely used in classical essays. From this it becomes probable that the language of Buddhist literature was already a sacred language when it was used for the first translations. It may have been the sacred language of Bonpo literature which had been handed down orally. The secular documents of the Stein Collection, on the other hand, may represent the language of daily life of the eighth century.

As regards the orthography of the documents, it is anything but settled. The nowadays silent prefixes are written or not according to the pleasure of the writer; thus we read *gzigs* or *zigs*, *dgra* or *gra*, *mchod* or *chod*, *bkā* or *kā*, *mkhar* or *k[h]ar*, etc. Aspirated tenues are continually mixed up with unaspirated ones; 'apan is written for 'aphan, *kong* for *khong*, *gchig* for *geig*, *kri* for *khri*, *krom* for *khrom*, etc. It is as if the ground were giving way under the feet of those who have been working in Tibetan phonetics. The subjoined *d* after *n*, *l*, and *r* is used or not just as the writer pleases.

We must not forget, however, that most of the documents were written in a foreign country, and this circumstance may account for a great number of orthographical mistakes. But one observation may be of importance: although the prefixes are not written in a great number of cases, we hardly ever find the wrong prefixes used. In this respect the old documents differ from Tibetan letter-writing by ordinary people as we find it nowadays. Let me note that there are two groups of prefixes in Tibetan, viz. *m* or 'a, which are of passive character, and all the rest, which are of active character. Nowadays a Tibetan mixes up all the active

prefixes with one another, and the two passive prefixes also. He may use a *b* instead of a *d*, a *g* or *r* instead of an *s*, etc. In the eighth century a Tibetan made use of the right prefix or he did not use it at all. From this observation we may conclude that the prefixes, although already on the point of disappearing from the spoken language, were still heard to a certain degree in the eighth century.

A considerable number of words show already the characteristics of later dialects. Thus the word *'agrul-ba*, runner, is invariably spelt *'adrul-ba*, in agreement with the present-day pronunciation. The same must be said of the word *phyir*, again, for, etc., which we find spelt *cir* or *chir* in the documents. Of interest are also the spellings *Rud-pon* instead of the more correct *Ru-dpon*, or *lhad-pal* instead of *lha-dpal*. As in modern Ladakhi, the prefix of the second syllable was sounded as final consonant of the preceding syllable. Other cases of dialectical influence we have in *tho-re* instead of *tho-ras*, to-morrow; *brgyed* instead of *brgyad*, eight; *men-tog* instead of *me-tog*, flower; *sreu* instead of *spreu*, monkey; *ched-po* instead of *chen-po*, great; *gYog* instead of *'og*, below. Purely dialectical words seem to be: *nan-ning*, last year; *pho-re*, goat; *phyed-'ang-gnyis*, one and a half; *skyu*, a dish of stuffed dumplings; etc.

There are many words the meaning of which is still quite uncertain. To mention only one instance, we do not yet know how to explain the local names *Bod*, Tibet, and *Li*, Khotan, when they are connected with numerals—*bod-gnyis*, *li-bzhi*, etc.—as is often the case. The following words, which are also of frequent occurrence, I have tried to explain in the following manner: *'athsal-ma*, provisions (Jäschke has “breakfast”); *dor*, a measure of fields; *men-thri*, a kind of cloth (this word is often connected with *yug*, a piece of cloth); *thsugs*, a district; *thang*, a couple; *thugs-bde*, well-being; *ngos-dpon*, frontier

officer; *zha-sngar* (= *zhabs-sngar*), before. Regarding the word *sug-[pa]*, we do not always know whether it should be translated as "hand" (hand-seal), or as "reward".

The marks of punctuation are used in a rather unusual manner. A *shad* is not much used to mark the end of a sentence; it is placed between any syllables in the middle of a sentence. Besides strokes and dots, pairs of little circles are occasionally used as marks of punctuation.



III

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETRY AS A SOURCE OF HISTORICAL INFORMATION

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THE conquest of the Persian and half of the Byzantine Empire by the Arabs, under the banner of Islam in the seventh century, was one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. On the one side were ranged the forces of two highly-organized military powers, Imperial New Rome and Imperial Persia, which for over three centuries had been engaged in constant conflict with each other. Although this necessarily tended to exhaust the material resources of the combatants, it would naturally be supposed that it must have given them military experience, and their leaders a training in generalship, adequate to enable them to face with confidence of victory enemies hitherto regarded with contempt as mere barbarians. On the other side we see hosts of men, reared in a country where the conditions of life have always been of the hardest and most precarious, divided by tribal feuds and secular hatreds, poorly armed, with no practice in warfare against disciplined foes, and with no allies to swell their legions. Yet from the beginning the progress of the Arabs was one of almost uninterrupted success.

How this happened, what the antecedents were that led to the great catastrophe which befell the ancient civilizations before the new world-power, must always be one of the most interesting problems of history.

Materials for the study of the Byzantine Empire exist in the works of Greek historians. For the conditions of

the Persian Empire we have the history of the Sasanians as recorded by Tabari, based upon the *Khudhāi-nāmah* of indigenous origin, and also some good information from Syriac sources. But in both cases the period of the conquest is poorly represented by contemporary documents. Of this part of the subject, however, I do not propose to speak. My object is to draw attention to the materials which exist for a survey of the history and conditions of Arabia during the century which preceded the conquests of Islam, and more especially of that part of Arabia which furnished the invading forces, as distinguished from the religious revolution, begun at Mecca and consummated at Medina, which drew its inspiration from the Prophet Muhammad.

These materials, so far as they are contemporary, are wholly contained in the ancient Arabian poetry, the earliest surviving texts of which may be said to begin with the commencement of the sixth century A.D. This poetry was almost entirely transmitted by memory, and we have no reason to suppose that, except in a very few special cases of which I will speak further on, it was reduced to writing until the first century of Muslim conquest was well advanced. It is the product and the picture of the tribal life of nomadic Arabia, the work, in the first instance, of composers who formed a special class of skilled artists in verse: from whom, however, the custom of making verse later on took a wide extension, so that in every tribe we meet with a large number of singers, mostly men of action, who celebrate their own deeds as well as the exploits of their fellows in poems called forth by the events in which they were engaged.

The bulk of this poetry which has survived is by no means small, although, in the opinion of the scholars who, during the literary age which set in with the latter half of the reign of the House of Umayyah and continued under the early 'Abbaside Caliphs, collected and recorded

the remains which we possess, the amount which has perished before it could be written down, with the death of those who carried it in their memories, is very large. How much has so perished we have no means of judging.

The earliest poems which have survived probably belong to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century A.D. They relate to the long warfare which raged, for a period stated by tradition in round numbers at forty years, between two large kindred groups, who occupied the mountains of al-Yamāmah in East Central Arabia called Bakr and Taghlib. This war, known as the War of al-Basūs, produced many poets on both sides, one of whom, Muhallil, the chief of Taghlib, is perhaps the most ancient of whom we have remains: two short poems by him are contained in the collection of ancient odes made by al-Aṣmaʿī (died 216 H.). Another very ancient poet, probably contemporary with Muhallil, is Muraqqish the Elder, of Bakr, to whom are attributed several pieces preserved in the collection called the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (completed before 168 H.). Peace was eventually arranged by al-Mundhir III, king of al-Ḥīrah on the Euphrates, who exercised a wide jurisdiction over nomad Arabia; but the rancour stirred by the conflict survived for generations, and two of the seven long poems called the *Muʿallaqāt*, one by ʿAmr son of Kulthūm, chief of Taghlib, and the other by al-Ḥārith son of Ḥillizah, of Yashkur, a division of Bakr, which were composed between 556 and 568, testify to the enmity which still subsisted in the time of al-Mundhir's successor, king ʿAmr of al-Ḥīrah.

Not much later than these is the group of poets connected with the history of a tribe of Yamanic origin called Kindah, which, in the latter half of the fifth and the first third of the sixth century A.D., established itself in the northern half of Central Arabia as a superior power controlling the tribal organizations. Its chiefs, who took

the title of king, contracted intermarriages with the Ma'addic Arab tribes, and had their centre in al-Qaṣīm, the comparatively well-watered territory where now stand the towns of Buraidah and 'Unaizah, in the great Wādī ar-Rummah, the main torrent-bed of Central Arabia. Tradition connects the extension of the authority of Kindah with the state of confusion and internecine strife produced by the War of al-Basūs, and it is certain that the princes of the tribe were connected by marriage with both 'Bakr and Taghlib. The power of Kindah stood at its highest at the end of the fifth century and beginning of the sixth, when the king, al-Ḥārith, appeared on the Roman border as an invader. He seems at one time to have held al-Ḥīrah on the Euphrates, and al-Mundhir III, who was the most formidable enemy of the Romans in that region, was his son-in-law, though afterwards his enemy. The tribes who owned allegiance to al-Ḥārith were placed by him under the governance of his four sons, and Asad, whose lands were among those nearest to the Kindite centre at Ghamr Dhū Kindah, became the portion of Ḥuḡr, al-Ḥārith's eldest son. The son of Ḥuḡr was Imra' al-Qais, the most celebrated of all the ancient poets, of whom a large quantity of verse has survived. During the years of Ḥuḡr's dominion in Asad the art of poetry made much progress. The bard of Asad was 'Abīd son of al-Abras, whose *diwān*, now for the first time published from an ancient MS. in the British Museum, is about to appear. The death of Ḥuḡr, whom the men of Asad slew about A.D. 530 after the king of Kindah, al-Ḥārith, had died, is the central event round which has gathered much poetry by Imra' al-Qais and 'Abīd; and there can be no doubt, from the poems by these authors which we possess, that there were many other contemporary singers, though little of that early time has reached us.

After the wreck of the dominion of Kindah the power of the kings of al-Ḥīrah gradually extended itself over

the northern half of the peninsula and along the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf. The energetic kings al-Mundhir III and his son 'Amr b. Hind are often heard of in the poems of that time. These kings ruled, the former from 505 to 554, and the latter from 554 to 569. King 'Amr was killed, in the midst of his Court, by a proud Arab chief, 'Amr son of Kulthūm of Taghlib, upon whom he was endeavouring to fix an indignity which the fierce nomad resented. Two of 'Amr's brothers succeeded him and had short reigns, and then, between 580 and 602 or 603, followed their nephew an-Nu'mān Abū Qābūs, the last Lakhmite king of al-Hīrah. The Courts of all these kings were frequently visited by poets from the nomad tribes, and much verse which has survived was composed on these occasions.

On the side of Rome there was another princely house, the line of Jafnah, kings of Ghassān, who kept the marches along the *Limes* which defined the boundary of Byzantine rule. These princes, who were adherents of Christianity, and, though nomads of the Syrian wilderness, comparatively civilized in their habits, were also resorted to by poets from the South. Their most famous king, al-Hārith the lame, son of Jabalah, who reigned from 529 to 569, is addressed in a long poem by 'Alqamah son of 'Abadah of Tamīm, contained in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*; he also figures in the history of 'Abīd and Imra' al-Qais. One of his successors, 'Amr, is the subject of a fine poem by an-Nābighah of Dhubyān, probably in the last decade but one of the sixth century.

Within the peninsula during this time warfare was frequent between the tribes, but it would take too long to endeavour to set forth the various causes and histories of quarrel. From a literary point of view the most famous contest was that called the War of Dāḥis, which had its origin in a horse-race held between the chiefs of two sister stocks belonging to the large group of Ghatafān,

the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān. This struggle also is said to have lasted forty years, but it is probable that its length has been considerably exaggerated. To this period belong the famous poets an-Nābighah of Dhubyān, 'Antarah of 'Abs, and Zuhair of Muzainah, whose *Mu'allaqah* celebrates the making of peace, which probably happened some time before the close of the sixth century A.D.

In the next twenty years, which are those preceding the appearance of Muḥammad as a prophet, the number of poets was very large. The most famous were Maimūn al-A'sha, of Qais b. Tha'labah, a division of Bakr settled in al-Yamāmah; Labīd, of Ja'far b. Kilāb, a branch of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'ah; Ḥātim, of Ṭayyi'; Bishr, son of Abū Khāzim, of Asad; and Ka'b, son of the Zuhair just mentioned: of all these we have *dīwāns*. Another poet of the time, and also a celebrated man of action, was 'Āmir son of at-Tufail, cousin of Labīd, whose *dīwān*, now published for the first time, is about to appear. Tufail of Ghani, a small tribe in subordinate alliance with 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'ah, belongs to the same age, and his *dīwān*, hitherto unknown, is also now on the eve of publication.

I said just now that these poems were not written down at the time when they were composed, save in a few exceptional cases. One of these exceptions is afforded by the *dīwān* of 'Adī b. Zaid, a Christian Tamīmite of al-Hīrah who was intimately connected with the history of an-Nu'mān Abū Qābūs, the last king of that state. The story of his long imprisonment by an-Nu'mān, and of his having addressed to the king poem after poem in order to induce him to release him, necessarily implies that the messages were in writing. His surviving poems, which are interesting as the work of a town-bred Arab of culture (for he was brought up among ministers and secretaries at the Persian Court), have been collected and will, I hope, shortly be published by my friend

Mr. Krenkow, of Leicester. Another exception is found in the works of Umayyah b. Abi-ṣ-Ṣalt, also a townsman, of at-Ta'if, and an older contemporary of the Prophet, whose collected remains have recently (1911) been given to the world by Professor F. Schulthess, of Göttingen. These poems are of great importance and interest as evidence of the currency, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, of an acquaintance with the stories of the Old and New Testaments and the apocryphal literature connected therewith, and thus as affording some clue to the source whence Muḥammad drew the narratives dealing with the same subjects contained in the Qur'ān.

The coming of Islam, and the diversion to exterior conquest of the energies which had hitherto been spent upon tribal feuds, had a striking influence on the poetry of Arabia. We have a large mass of verse composed by persons who, having been originally pagans, accepted the new religion. Besides authors like al-Huṭai'ah, ash-Shammākh, al-Khansā, and Abū Dhu'aib, who have left *dīwāns*, a large proportion of the odes contained in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* are the work of such *Mukhadrim*s, as they were called. It is very interesting to notice how little the austere practices of the new faith affected the ideals or the workmanship of these singers. They continue to celebrate the delights of wine-drinking and gambling with arrows, to extol unbounded expense in hospitality, and to boast of accomplishment in the art of war, and especially of satire. Satire, indeed, though severely handled by the early Caliphs, becomes, with panegyric as its complement, more and more the work of the professional poet. The list of poets born in the first century of Islam, when poetry began to be recorded in writing as it was composed, includes (to mention only those of whom we have published *dīwāns*) al-Farazdaq and Jarīr, both of Tamīm, al-Akḥṭal, a Christian of Taghlib, and al-Kumait of Asad, all of whom were expert

in the arts of praising great men and of delivering biting shafts of satire upon their enemies. Amatory themes took a wide extension in the poems of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah, a Quraishite of Mecca. Ghailān, called Dhu-r-Rummah, of 'Adī b. 'Abd-Manāt, was the last who maintained the old standards of poetic achievement, and with him the cycle of nomad poetry is sometimes said to have closed. He died, aged 40, in 117 H. (A.D. 735). His *dīwān*, edited for the first time by my friend Mr. C. Macartney, is now in the press.

These compositions, it will be seen, cover a very long period of time—fully 200 years, and are strictly contemporary documents. I do not propose to discuss here the proof of their genuineness and authenticity; what I have to urge on the subject will be found in the Introduction to the *Dīwān* of 'Abīd b. al-Abras, which will soon be before the public. It will suffice to say that while fabricated verses and even whole poems are to be found in our collections, the majority of the materials contained in them bears (in my opinion) the stamp of genuineness, and compels us, by its vividness and actuality and close correspondence with the known conditions of the age and locality, to admit its claims to be the real work of its reputed authors.

But the poems by themselves are not, strictly speaking, history. An Arabian ode hardly ever contains a consecutive narrative of events. Nothing in the nature of Epic poetry exists. The occurrences touched upon are mentioned for the most part allusively, generally in the briefest manner, and the bard, often himself an actor in the scenes he portrays, enlarges on his own prowess and the glories of his tribe; or, on the other hand, he assails his enemies with words of scorn and contempt, recounts their defeats and disasters, and depicts them in the most odious light. In all cases of tribal warfare, which is the chief subject of the poems, great exaggeration prevails.

In order to utilize the poems, to read them aright, to use them in interpreting the situation, we require to know from some outside source the circumstances in which they were composed. This is furnished to us by the labours of those men who, during the first and second centuries of Islam, collected from the mouths of the living representatives of the tribes the traditions of the tribal histories. Many scholars occupied themselves with this task when the poems came to be written down for preservation, but two stand out among all others in their industry and the thoroughness with which they carried through their task. These two are Hishām ibn al-Kalbī and Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā, called Abū 'Ubaidah. The former, son of •Muḥammad b. as-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (died 146 H.), had an hereditary interest in historical research, for his father before him was an industrious collector of traditions. To Ibn al-Kalbī, who died in 204 H., we owe the first attempts made to obtain a sequence of dates for the kings of al-Ḥīrah, Ghassān, and Kindah, a great mass of tribal genealogies and of the traditions bearing thereon, and other investigations into Arabian antiquity. His narratives of the battles or "Days" celebrated in the poems, and his anecdotal biographies of the persons who figure in the tribal traditions, are full of interest, of liveliness, and of graphic detail. Against this must be set a constant disposition to exalt the cause of the Yamanic tribes against that of the Ma'addic Arabs. His own tribe of Kalb, descended from Qudā'ah, considered itself to be of Yamanic origin; and on this account he is never impartial when the contest is between a representative of al-Yaman and one of Ma'add. He appears on more than one occasion to have fabricated poems in support of his anecdotes to the discredit of Ma'addic heroes. Abū 'Ubaidah (110–209 H.), on the other hand, has every appearance of being impartial; his narratives are full of detail, and his citation of the authorities from

whom he derived his information (see the index to the *Naqā'id*) most complete. He is often critical in his examination of the sources. He was not, like Ibn al-Kalbī, himself of Arab descent, but a Jew of al-'Irāq whose family had become converts to Islam. Thus he stands outside of racial partialities, though he everywhere displays the keenest interest in his subject. We learn from Ibn Khallikān that he was the author of a work setting forth the evil qualities of the Arabs (*Mathālib*), a species of literature very popular in his time under 'Abbāsī rule, when the Persians came into favour. If this is correct, it must at least be admitted that he did not invent for them odious characteristics, but told his stories in a manner which, if not flattering, is, to our eyes at least, not marked by any manifest desire to press unduly upon their unamiable traits, and generally appears to bear the stamp of truth.

Neither of Ibn al-Kalbī nor of Abū 'Ubaidah do we possess (so far as known) any works in their original form; but these two are the main source from which innumerable books written by literary and historical compilers draw their material. The greatest of all these compilations is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu-l-Faraj of Iṣfahān (284-356), now rendered conveniently accessible by means of the exhaustive series of indices which we owe to Professor Guidi. Of so well-known a book it is unnecessary to speak at any length. The first volume of Ibn al-Athīr's history called the *Kāmil* contains an abridgement of Abū 'Ubaidah's *Ayyām al-'Arab* which is very useful, though the printing, especially in the verses, leaves much to be desired. Better even than the *Aghānī*, where the two come into competition, are the extracts from Abū 'Ubaidah contained in the commentary to the *Naqā'id*, or satiric contests of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, the edition of which has just been completed by Professor Bevan. This work, which from its character is full of

allusions to Arabian antiquity, is supplied with a complete and instructive commentary, in which the latest hand is that of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Yazīdī (died 310). Here we have large extracts from Abū 'Ubaidah's *Ayyām*, elucidated as to language and often compared with other accounts, which leave nothing to be desired so far as concerns the events with which they deal. Professor Bevan's indices render the use of the work for reference as easy as possible, and an exhaustive glossary is also supplied.

Another work which is now in the press and will, it is hoped, be completed before very long is the collection of ancient Arabian odes made by al-Mufaḍḍal, of the tribe of Ḍabbah, a learned man who lived under both Umayyad and 'Abbāsid rule, and died in 168. The exhaustive commentary of al-Qāsim al-Anbārī, which is being printed with the text, contains, like that to the *Naqā'id*, large detailed accounts of the events to which the poems relate, mainly drawn from Ibn al-Kalbī. I need only mention another work of a similar but less authentic kind, the celebrated *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām, which, with al-Tibrizī's commentary, has been in the hands of Arabic scholars since 1828.

When we compare the poems with the traditions illustrating them, we find, of course, many deficiencies. Often there are no details forthcoming to explain obscure passages: those who once were able to furnish them perished before the scholars got hold of them. Not unfrequently the poems do not agree with the traditions. I may illustrate this by a case which is well-known to my hearers, and comes from a cycle of literature strictly analogous to the Arabian historical legends and ancient heroic poems—I mean the Book of Judges in the Old Testament. In the Song of Deborah, which celebrates the defeat of Sisera and his host by the tribes of Northern Israel, the description of the murder of the fugitive chief

by Jael, in defiance of all the laws of hospitality, is inconsistent with the account given in the prose story. As the poem is in all probability contemporary, we naturally prefer its testimony to that of the prose writer, who may have lived some centuries later. Similar discrepancies are not uncommon in the old tribal poetry and traditions of Arabia. But although such cases call for careful critical examination, the material available is very large, and by the help of the poems and the narratives put together we are able to construct, at least in general outline, a fairly complete account of the main events and the state of society in Arabia during that pregnant century which preceded the establishment of the Empire of Islam.

Not only so : owing to causes with which I cannot now deal, the conditions of life in Arabia, which are those established by the climate and natural features of the country, have prevailed over the mighty unifying forces which in the seventh century drew the tribes together and started them on their career of conquest. In spite of Islam, the Arabian nomads live at the present day very much as their ancestors lived thirteen centuries ago. They are marked by the same characteristics, divided by the same blood-feuds, engaged in the same life of rapine, subject to the same customary laws of hospitality and mutual intercourse, as prevailed before the Prophet of Medina took them in hand. So it happens that those who have travelled with seeing eyes and an understanding heart in that great wilderness in our own day are able to set before us a picture of society which, with certain allowances made, is extraordinarily like that which we gather from the ancient poems. The best of all commentaries on the literature of the sixth and seventh centuries in Arabia is to be found in the great book of our countryman Charles Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*. With this I should mention the *Tagbuch* of the scholar whose

recent death we all mourn, Julius Euting, and the works of Aloys Musil dealing with the tribes of the Syrian Desert.

Sixty-six years ago M. Caussin de Perceval published his well-known *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, a work of which it is difficult to speak in terms of too much praise. So far as it dealt with the century before Muḥammad, it was based almost entirely on the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, then only accessible in MS., and for the time of its production it was a marvel of industry, clearness of arrangement, attractive style, and penetrating insight into the subject. But much has happened since it appeared, and the time has now come for the period with which it dealt to be handled afresh. As a basis for such a re-handling, it appears to me that what we chiefly want is translations of the ancient poems, worked up and commented on, with utilization of all the available material. It must be admitted that to general historians the field is still in a great measure closed. The texts, in the original Arabic, have to a large extent been published; but without commentaries and elucidation they are not available except to the specialist. It is the task for the latter-day scholars to make them available, so that all may judge of their bearing. No works of an ancient poet should be published without a translation. To translate adequately demands close and minute study, and to deal with the problems presented by any one poet's work necessitates a survey of a wide field and many by-paths of inquiry. France and Germany have set us a great example: is it too much to hope that in this country also labourers will be found to help forward the cause?



Vannic Inscription from Baghin.

IV

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE VANNIC KING MENUAS

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

CAPTAIN L. MOLYNEUX-SEEL has been good enough to send me a photograph of a Vannic inscription discovered by him built into the wall of a ruined Armenian chapel at Baghin, north of the Murad Su. Baghin is on the right bank of the Kighi Su, which falls into the Murad Su near Kharput, and it is about 50 miles north-east of the latter city and almost due north of Palu, where an inscription of Menuas has long been known to exist (No. XXXIII of my memoir). The new inscription is important, since it not only adds a new word, *titiani*, "a boundary-stone," to the Vannic vocabulary, but it also fixes the western boundary-line of the Vannic kingdom in the reign of Menuas.

The inscription reads as follows (in continuance of my notation its number will be XCIII):—

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| [1. D.P. Me-i-nu-u-a-s
<i>Menuas</i> | 2. D.P. Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi-ni-s
<i>the son of Ispuinis</i> |
| 3. i-ni TAK pu-lu-ši
<i>this inscribed stone]</i> | 4. [ku-]-u-gu-u-ni
<i>has written</i> |
| 5. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
<i>for the people of Khaldis.</i> | 6. al-šu-u-i-si-ni
<i>the mighty,</i> |
| 7. D.P. Me-nu-u-a-ni
<i>belonging to Menuas</i> | 8. D.P. Is-pu-u-i-ni-khe
<i>the son of Ispuinis,</i> |
| 9. erila tar-a-i-e
<i>the powerful king,</i> | 10. erila al-šu-u-i-ni
<i>the mighty king,</i> |

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11. erila MAT Bi-a-i-na-u-e
<i>king of the country of Van,</i> | 12. a-lu-śi ALU Dhu-us-pa-
<i>inhabitant of Dhuspas</i>

a-patari
<i>the city.</i> |
| 13. D.P. Me-nu-u-a-s a-li
<i>Menuas says:</i> | 14. te-ru-bi ᳵ ti-ti-
<i>I have set up a boundary-</i>

a-ni
<i>stone</i> |
| 15. is-ti-ni NISU EN-NAM
<i>as the limit of the governor</i> | 16. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
<i>of the people of Khaldis,</i> |
| 17. us-ma-a-si-i-ni
<i>the gracious,</i> | 18. e-u-ri-i-e
<i>the lord.</i> |
| 19. D.P. Me-i-nu-u-a-s
<i>Menuas</i> | 20. D.P. Is-pu-o-i-ni-khi-ni-s
<i>the son of Ispuinis</i> |
| 21. i-ni TAK pu-lu-śi
<i>this inscribed stone</i> | 22. ku-u-gu-u-ni
<i>has written</i> |
| 23. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
<i>for the people of Khaldis</i> | 24. al-śu-u-i-si-ni
<i>the mighty.</i> |

5. It is clear that *Khaldinini*, "the children of Khaldis," must here signify "the people of Khaldis", i.e. the inhabitants of Van, rather than "the divine offspring of Khaldis", since the boundary-stone was intended for the inhabitants of the country and not for the gods. This throws light on the adjectival suffix *-si*; in *alśui-si-ni* the suffix *-si* will refer to the god Khaldis, while the suffix *-ni* agrees with the whole grammatical complex *Khaldinini*. Hence the form would literally be "of (the people) belonging to the mighty (god)"

14. Literally "one", *suśi-ni* in Vannic. The signification of *titiani* is fixed by the words which follow.

15. For *istini* see XCII, 5. The boundary-stone or stela has the form of a Roman milestone, except that it is

not round. Captain Molyneux-Seel is doubtless right in believing that it came originally from the citadel of Baghin.

POSTSCRIPT.—Professor Lehmann-Haupt tells me that the Baghin inscription was discovered by himself and Dr. Huntington, and that he has given an account of it in the *Verhandlungen d. Berliner anthrop. Gesellschaft*, 1900 (November 17), pp. 522–75, and the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxiii, pp. 175 ff., 1901, where he has supposed *Titiani* to be a proper name. This, however, is now excluded by the discovery of the meaning of *istini* which has since been made.



WAS THERE A KUSANA RACE?

BY BARON A. VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN

THERE is no lack of numismatic evidence for the fact that the words *Kūšān šāhān šāh* and *Kūšān šāh* were used as personal attributes by certain princes reigning about the year A.D. 300. On the obverse of one of the coins in question Professor Marquart reads the legend: *mazdēsn bagē Pērōzē (i) wažurg Kūšān šāh*, "des mazda-verehrenden Gottes Pērōz, grossen Königs der Kūšān." M. Drouin translates the same legend as follows: "le mazdéen, le divin Pérose, grand Kouchan, roi."¹

It would be difficult to decide which of these two translations was preferable, if the words *Kūšān šāh* were always preceded or followed by a personal name. This, happily, is not the case. Ibn Khordadbeh,² who wrote in the ninth century A.D., gives a list of many royal titles, and tells us that the title of the King of Transoxania (کوشان شاه) was *Kūšān šāh* (ماوراء النهر).

This enables us to state positively that the title *Kūšān šāh*, "king of the Kūšān," enjoyed a great prestige in A.D. 300, and was not forgotten even in the ninth century of the Christian era.

¹ See Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901, p. 49, and Drouin, *Revue numismatique*, 1896, p. 170.

² The author of the fundamental work *Turkestan at the time of the Mongol Invasion*, by W. Barthold, St. Petersburg, 1900 (in Russian), drew my attention to p. 98 of his book, where, while discussing the title *Kūšān šāh*, he refers to Ibn Khordadbeh (cf. de Goeje's edition of the latter's *Liber Viarum et Regnorum*, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, pars sexta, text p. 40, transl. p. 29). Cf. also *Annales quos scripsit . . . Tabari*, secunda series, iii, Recensuerunt I. Guidi, D. H. Müller, et M. J. de Goeje, Lugd. Bat., 1885-9, p. 1449, l. 21.

We find the earliest mention of the Chinese form of the title *Kūśān śāh*, viz. *Kuei-shuang-wang*, in the phrase¹ 自 (t=ǎ) 立 (lì) 爲 (wéi) 王 (wáng) 國 (guó) 號 (hào) 貴 (guì) 霜 (shuāng) 王 (wáng), "he [Kadphises I] established himself as a king (*wang*) and used the dynastic title 'king of the Kūśān'." This phrase occurs in the *Hou-han-shu* (Annals of the later Han dynasty), and from the same chronicle we learn that Kadphises I (K'iu-tsiu-k'io) at the beginning of his reign had to content himself with the more modest title of 貴 (guì) 霜 (shuāng) 翁 (wēng) 侯 (hóu). It was only after having defeated certain rivals that he styled himself *Kuei-shuang-wang* (*Kūśān śāh*).

Everybody seems to admit that *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hour* (Cantonese pronunciation according to Williams' Cantonese dictionary: *Kwai-séung-yap-hau*) is the Chinese form of

¹ I give the original phrase as I find it in the Chinese block-print (As. Dep., No. 624, ch. 118, p. 11b) of the *Hou-han-shu*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. A copy of the same edition has, apparently, been used by Dr. O. Franke, who quotes the same page in his book *Zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens* (Berlin, 1904, p. 66). The translation is mainly based on the authority of Dr. Franke, whose rendering of the phrase is, "Er setzte sich selbst als König (*wang*) ein und führte den dynastischen Titel König von Kuei-shuang."

It can hardly be doubted that the first word of the title *Kūśān śāh* represents the name of a race. Cf. the title *Guṣanavaśasamvardhaka* (according to M. Senart's reading of the Manikyāla inscription, *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Février, 1896, p. 8), which Professor Lüders translates by "scion of the Guṣana race" (*JRAS.*, 1909, p. 666). M. Senart (*op. cit.*, p. 12) hesitated between two alternative translations: "auteur de l'accroissement de la race des Koushans" and "issu de la race des Koushans". Dr. Thomas (*JRAS.* 1906, p. 203) translates the title by "propagator of the Kushan stock".

Dr. Vogel has been so kind as to supply me with his "provisional" reading of one of the inscriptions discovered near Muttra in March, 1912. The name of the king seems to be doubtful, but the titles *Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputro Kuṣānaputr[o]* are quite clear. It seems most natural to interpret as the name of a race the first part of the title *Kuṣānaputr[o]*. (The long vowel (*ā*) is also of great interest.)

Considering these facts, I have no doubt that "König der [*not von*] Kuei-shuang" is the correct German rendering of the title *Kuei-shuang-wang*.

the title Kuṣanayavuga, which is found on the Kharoṣṭhī side of some (type 1) of the coins of Kujula-Kadphises (Kadphises I).

The title Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou being undoubtedly represented on the coins of Kadphises I, it would seem extremely strange if no numismatic equivalent could be found for Kuei-shuang-wang (*Kūśān śāh*) on any pieces of that monarch. Does it not seem natural under these circumstances to consider the syllables *Khuṣanasa*,¹ which we find on the Kharoṣṭhī side of what Mr. Vincent Smith calls type 3 of Kadphises I's coins, as the equivalent of the title *Kūśān śāh*? And could not the corresponding syllables XOPANCY of the legend in Greek characters be regarded as a barbaric genitive of *XOPANCA, representing *Kūśān śāh*?

The fact that *Khuṣanasa* does not show the genitive termination (*Khuṣanasa*)sa² can easily be accounted for by assuming that the existing *sa* (= *śāh*) forms a compound with the next word of the Kharoṣṭhī legend.

The following are the full Kharoṣṭhī legends of the types Kadphises I, 1 and 3, according to Mr. Smith's catalogue (I replace the *sh* of the catalogue by *ś*):

¹ It is just possible that the Kharoṣṭhī letters read *Gushanasa* by Sir A. Cunningham represent another form of the title *Kūśān śāh*. Unfortunately, however, the letters immediately following *Gushanasa* in the Panjtar inscription are broken off or mutilated, except the first one, which according to the editor is R, or perhaps N. "The second letter, which is very doubtful, may be either *re*, or *ha*, or *ne*" (Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. v, p. 62). The original of the Panjtar inscription being lost (op. cit., p. 61) it will hardly be possible to use it for the purpose of proving or disproving my contentions.

² On some coins of Gondophares, who was a βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, we find the title *sasasa* (Gardner, pp. 104, 106, 189) in Kharoṣṭhī characters, which probably represent the genitive of *sa[n]sa* (= *śāhān śāh*). I have not succeeded in ascertaining the presence of the sign representing *n* (or *n*) at the bottom of the akṣara read *sa(sasa)* by Gardner, the lower part of it being, apparently, damaged on all the coins belonging to the Imperial Hermitage, as well as on the ones reproduced in the catalogues of Gardner and Smith. Cf. the title *saansa(an)* mentioned below (p. 87, note).

Kujula-kasasa Kuṣana-yavugasa dhramaṭhidaśa (type 1); *Khuṣanasa yavūśa* [sic], or *yavūśa*, *Kuyula-kaphśaśa* sa[cha] dhrama[thita]śa (type 3).

Only the transcription of the first legend is followed by a translation ([coin] of Kujulakasa, the Kuṣān chief, the pious), and those who contend that *Khuṣanasa* is a genitive singular will hardly be able to interpret the second legend (type 3) without getting into difficulties. Besides having to admit that the equivalent of *Kūśān śāh* (*Kuei-shuang-wang*) cannot be found on the coins of Kadphises I, they will be forced to concede that he called himself "a Kūśān [and] a yavu[g]a" on some of his coins (*Khuṣanasa yavūśa*, type 3) and "the yavuga of the Kūśān" (*Kuṣanayavugasa*, type 1)¹ on others. Both difficulties vanish as soon as my interpretation of *Khuṣanasayavūśa*, "king [and] yavu[g]a of the Kūśān," is accepted.²

We know that the Persian word *śāh* has been rendered by the Greek letters *σα* (for instance in the name *σαπωρης* = *śāhpūr*), and the legend *σατραπυ ζε[ιω]ν[υ]σου*

¹ The translation of *Kuei-shuang-wang* as "king of the Kūśān" being certain, *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou* and its equivalent *Kuṣanayavuga* must mean "yavuga of the Kūśān".

The Kharoṣṭhī legends of Kadphises I's type 1 (*Kuṣanayavugasa*) are not only found on pieces bearing that monarch's Greek name on the obverse, but also on coins which he minted conjointly with Hermæus (cf. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. i, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906, p. 33). The Kharoṣṭhī legend, type 3 (*Khuṣanasayavūśa*), however, is found only on coins belonging exclusively to Kadphises I. This proves *Kuṣanayavugasa* (the admitted equivalent of *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou*) to be older than *Khuṣanasayavu[g]aśa* (which, as suggested above, contains the equivalent of *Kuei-shuang-wang* [*Kūśān śāh*]).

It need hardly be pointed out how well the data of the Chinese Chronicle agree with the Kharoṣṭhī legends if interpreted according to my view. I do not discuss the types 2 and 4 of Kadphises I, the readings being too uncertain. I have, however, examined them without finding anything disproving my contentions.

² Accumulations of various titles are very frequent on the numismatic and epigraphic documents of the period, and it will hardly strike anyone as improbable that Kadphises I, after having assumed the more exalted dignity (*Kūśān śāh*), should retain his old title (*yavu[g]a*) by the side of the new one.

(Gardner, p. 110) shows that it is not impossible to regard XOPANCY as a genitive.¹ When composing his catalogue of the coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, Professor Gardner evidently considered XOPANCY as consisting of two words, (1) XOPAN and (2) CY (cf. Cat., p. 187). Both words the distinguished numismatist places under the heading "Scythic [titles] in Greek letters" He also states that the same word *σν* occurs on some coins of the king Hermæus. The fact that three of the four words composing the Greek legend (*Βασιλεως σπηρος σν ερμαιου*) of those coins undoubtedly show genitive terminations tends to support my explanation of XOPANCY² as a genitive of *XOPANCA (*Kūśān śāh*).

Some of Kanīška's coins, according to Mr. Smith, bear the following legend (on the obverse): ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟΚΑΝΗΡΚΙΚΟΠΑΝΟ, *Ṣaonano - ṣao Kanēški Koṣano*, "Kanīška the Kuśān, king of kings." (I replace Mr. Smith's *sh* by *ṣ*.) It is difficult to think of any reason why we should not consider ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ as the first (or the last) word of the legend, and ΚΟΠΑΝΟ ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ as his title. This is the only arrangement which enables us to recognize the title *Kūśān śāh* (in an amplified form, cf. the title *Kūśān śāhān śāh* mentioned on p. 79) on the coins of the monarch who, surely, was the most prominent Kūśān ruler known to history.

I have already pointed out (Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, 1908, p. 1369) that the last three letters (ANO = *ānu*) of the genitive

¹ Professor Rapson (JRAS., 1897, p. 321) and Dr. Thomas (JRAS., 1913, p. 632) also regard XOPANCY as a genitive singular.

² It is a significant fact that we find the word *rajarajasa* on the Kharoṣṭhī side of several Hermæus (alone without Kadphises I) coins showing *σν* on the obverse, and that the word *rajarajasa* never appears on the pieces (mentioned by Gardner, Smith, and von Sallet, *Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*) bearing the shorter Greek legend *Βασιλεως σωτηρος ερμαιου*. If there were no *σν* coins omitting *rajarajasa* we should possess an absolute proof for the fact that *σν* was a royal title.

plural **PAONANO** (according to Mr. Smith "of kings") represent the same termination which appears in the word *gyastānu* (genitive plural of a theme *gyasta*, meaning "deus"), and which generally indicates the genitive plural in the second "unknown" language of Eastern Turkestan.¹

The second **ANO** of the title **KOṔANO PAONANO**² **PAO** almost certainly representing *ānu* (Professor Lüders, loc. cit., speaking about the title *śāhanuśāhi*, says: "das griechische **ANO** kann für *ānu* stehen, wie **BOΔΔO** für Buddha zeigt"), the rendering of **KOṔANO** by *Kuśānu* is, to say the least, possible. That this rendering is more than a possibility is suggested by various circumstances.

The *akṣara* corresponding to the letters (*guṣa*)*na* in the third line of the Manikyāla inscription (as read by M. Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, Janv.-Févr. 1896, p. 8, pl. i) shows a distinct hook at the bottom of the *mātrkā*. The hook is absent from the *mātrkā* in all other cases (fourteen) where *na* has been read, but it is clearly visible at the bottom of the *akṣara* representing *thu* (in *thuvan*,

¹ The *a*-themes of that language generally show the termination *i* in the nominative singular, and in the article mentioned I compared the title *śāhānuśāhi* (or *sāhānusāhi*), "king of kings," which apparently belonged to *Kūśān* princes (cf. Sir M. A. Stein's article in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p. 95 sq., and Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8), with the expression *gyastānu gyasti* (in the language ii "deorum deus"). I arrived at the conclusion that traces of the language ii could be found in the titles of the *Kūśān* princes. This view has since been accepted by Professors Konow (*Festschrift für Wilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 96) and Lüders (*Sitzungsberichte Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1913, p. 426).

² Professor Konow accounts for the first **N** in **PAONANO**, which he explains as a genitive plural of a theme *ṣavan* (derived from *kṣāy + van*), by assuming that the **N** lost in the nominative singular **PAO** reappears before the termination of the genitive plural **ANO**. Dr. Salemann draws my attention to the fact that this explanation is confirmed by the existence of the words *χṣē-van-ē* (king) and *χṣā-van* (might) occurring in the "Soghdische Texte" published by Professor F. W. K. Müller (see the index of that edition in the *Abhandlungen Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1912 [published 1913], p. 108). Professor Konow tells me that his full explanation of the **N** will soon appear in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*.

l. 6). M. Senart (op. cit., p. 11) has not overlooked the hook in the third line, and explains it as a "maladresse du lapicide".

On two coins of the Imperial Hermitage of St. Petersburg, and on at least as many specimens of Kadphises' I pieces belonging to the Kgl. Münzkabinett of Berlin, instead of *Kuṣanayavugasa* (type 1, cf. above, p. 82) we clearly read *Kuṣanuyavugasa*.



Reverses of Kadphises I's coins belonging to the Kgl. Münzkabinett (Nos. 1 and 2), and to the Imp. Hermitage (No. 3). The Greek legend of coin No. 3 has [κο]ζουλο (not [κο]ζουλα).

These facts obviously cannot be accounted for by assuming a series of identical blunders, and we shall have to admit that the word *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*)¹ really existed, or to suppose that the die-sinkers of Kadphises I conspired with the stone-cutters of the general Lala in order to puzzle future archæologists.

As soon as the explanation of KOṢANO as representing *Kuṣānu* is accepted, the interpretation of it as a genitive plural of the theme *Kuṣa* suggests itself (cf. *gyastānu gyasti*, "deorum deus"), and we are fortunately able to show that such a theme did exist at the time of Aśva-ghoṣa's patron.

¹ The long *ā* generally being neglected in the Kharoṣṭhī writing of the period, both readings *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*) and *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*) are possible. The fact that in the title *Kuṣānaputr[o]* (cf. sup., p. 80), on the (Pahlavi) legends deciphered by Drouin and Marquart (cf. sup., p. 79), in Khordadbeh's work, and in other Arabic texts the *ā* is clearly marked, suggests the reading *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*) [not *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*)]. Cf. also the legend *Kidāra Kuṣāna shāhi* mentioned by Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, p. 184.

In Aśvaghōṣa's *Sūtrālamkāra*, which only exists in a Chinese translation, we find the phrase, 拘 (kü) 沙 (sha) 種 (chung) 中 (chung) 有 (yiu) 王 (wang) 名 (ming) 眞 (chen) 檀 (tan) 迦 (kia) 膩 (ni) 吒 (ch'a), "in the Kuṣa¹ (kü-sha) race there was a king (wang) called devaputra Kaniṣka (Kanikṣa)." According to Dr. Thomas' translation of the Mahārājakani[s]kalekha, which has come down to us in a Tibetan version (*Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 356), Aśvaghōṣa writes to Kaniṣka: "Train yourself in the way of your own people: born in the Kuṣa race (*ku-śahi-rigs-su*) do you impair not the household law of your ancestors."

Considering the fact that the existence of the theme Kuṣa, meaning "a member of Kaniṣka's race", is suggested by circumstances independent of the two texts just quoted, we must refuse to believe that Kuṣa in both cases is nothing but an abbreviation of, or a mistake for, *Kuṣana*.

Consequently we are justified in translating the title KOṢANO PAONANO PAO by "the emperor of the Kuṣas", and *Kūśān śāh*² by "the king of the Kuṣas (or Kūśas)".

¹ It cannot be disputed that *kü-sha* represents *Kuṣa*. Cf. M. Sylvain Lévi's translation of the passage, *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Déc., 1896, p. 457. The character 沙 (*sha*) is in many transcribed texts the regular representative of 𑖦 (*ṣa*). See my edition of the *Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan* (Aśvaghōṣa's *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* in a Chinese transcription, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, xv, p. 179). According to Giles' Dict. (No. 2886) 種 (*chung*), i. a., means "race". I quote the Chinese phrase from the copy of the Tripitaka (vol. xix, fasc. 4, ch. 6, p. 93b) belonging to the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. It was Professor Konow who first pointed out to me that some confirmation could be found for my view (*Kuṣa*, not *Kuṣana*) in Aśvaghōṣa's *Sūtrālamkāra*.

² Cf. the title ھندوان شہ (transcribed *Hindowān-schāh* by de Goeje and followed by "dans l'Inde" in the translation of Khordadbeh's work, p. 13) and the title Σεγανσαά, "the king of the Çakas," mentioned by a Greek historian of the sixth century A.D.: 'Επειδὴ οὖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος Οὐαραράνη τῷ τοῦδε πατρὶ ἐδεδούλωτο, εἰκότως ἄρα ὁ παῖς Σεγανσαά (Segansaa) ἐπωνόμαστο· δύνатаι γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ Σεγεστανῶν βασιλεὺς (Segestanorum rex). This passage we find in Agathias (ed. Niebuhrius, Bonnæ, mdcccxviii, p. 261). The Latin

The fact that on some coins of Kadphises I we find the title *Kuṣānu yavuga* with the Scythian case suffix (genitive plural) preserved in the half-Prākṛitized legend, shows that the first part of *Kuṣana yavuga* (the form which the title takes on other pieces of the same monarch) must be regarded as a Prākṛit genitive plural (*Kuṣāna* or *Kuṣāṇa*).¹

Those who accept the interpretation of *Kuṣāna yavugasa* (Kadphises I, type 1) as meaning "of the yavuga of the Kuṣas", will admit that the explanation (the improbability of which has been demonstrated by other considerations, cf. sup., p. 82) of *Khuṣanasa-yavu[g]asa* (Kadphises I, type 3) as consisting of two genitives singular becomes impossible.

They will have to concede that *Khuṣana* (read *Khuṣāna*) *sa* is one of the forms of the title *Kūṣān śāh*, and that the corresponding XOPANCY is a barbaric genitive of *XOPANCA also representing *Kūṣān śāh*, "king of the Kuṣas (or Kūṣas)."

It is a well-known fact that there is a Sanskrit word signifying "store" which the classical writers spell both ways: *kośa* and *koṣa*. It is much less astonishing that a foreign word should be spelt *Kuśa* (in the *Kaṇi[ṣ]kalekha*), and *Kuṣa* (in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*). Under these circumstances I do not think it necessary to blame Tibetan scribes for the spelling *Kuśa*, and

equivalents mentioned are those of Bonaventura Vulcanius' translation which accompanies Agathias' Greek text. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (ed. Gardthausen, Lipsiæ, mcccclxxiii, vol. i, p. 173) the title *saansaan*, "rex regibus imperans," belonged to the Persian king Sapor [II?], and I have no doubt that *saansaan* is nothing but a clerical error for *saansa* or *saansaa* (= *śāhān śāh*).

¹ No mechanical reproduction of the newly (March, 1912) discovered Muttra inscription mentioned above (p. 80) being at hand, Dr. Vogel was unable to tell me whether the reading *Kuṣāṇaputr[o]* (instead of *Kuṣāṇaputr[o]*) was possible or not. In any case the interpretation of that title would be identical with the translation of *Guṣanura[m]śa-samvardhaka* (cf. sup., pp. 80, 84), viz. "scion of the Kuṣa (Guṣa) race".

I believe that both ways of spelling the name were current in *India*. I think that these considerations enable us to recognize the name of Kaniska's race in the one of the dvīpa (Kuśadvīpa) mentioned immediately after the Śākadvīpa by the *Matsyāpurāṇa* (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. i, p. 235). In the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Bibl. Buddhica, xiii, p. 52) we find among the names of the Cakravartins the Great Kuśa (Mahākuśa), Kuśa, and Upakuśa. The rôle assigned to Kuśa, the son of Rāma, in Indian mythology is certainly not marked enough to explain the inclusion of his name in the chapter just quoted, and it does not seem impossible to connect the Mahākuśa, etc., of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* with the second Aśoka.

Whatever we might think of the derivation of Kuśadvīpa, Mahākuśa, etc., we must admit that Aśvaghoṣa is the best imaginable authority on the main question involved, and that Kuśa (not Kuśana) was the correct name of the warlike race that gave Kaniska to the Buddhist world.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS

From a cave-residence at Pabhōsā, close to Kōsam in the Allahābād District, we have two inscriptions which present matter for comment.¹ They were edited in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 2, pp. 242, 243, by Dr. Führer, who, on account of the resemblance of their letters to those of the Śunga period, B.C. 183 to 72, assigned them to “the second or first century B.C.” And Bühler gave in his *Indian Palaeography*, plate 2, col. 19, an alphabet from them, which on the same basis he assigned to “about B.C. 150.”²

The two inscriptions register one and the same act, the founding of the cave: but they do so in different terms:—

No. 1, which is on the rock outside the cave, over the left corner of the entrance door, says:—“By Āsādhasēna, maternal uncle of the *Rājan* Gōpālīputra-Bahasatimittra (*and*) son of Gōpālī the Vaihidarī, (*this*) cave has been caused to be made, in the tenth year of Ūdāka (?), [for the use] of the Kaśśapiya Arahantas.”

No. 2, which is inside the cave, on the west wall, says:—“Caused to be made by Ashādhasēna, son of the Vaihidarī, (*and*) son of the *Rājan* Tēvaṇīputtra-Bhāgavata, son of Vaṅgapāla *Rājan* of Adhichhatrā (*and*) son of Śōnakāyana.”

¹ They are Nos. 904, 905, in Professor Lüders's List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix.

² He compared the characters of them with those of the inscription, which refers itself to the time of the Śungas, on a pillar at Bharaut, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 138, from which, with two letters, *ū* and *ī*, added from other sources, he gave an alphabet in col. 18 of the same plate, with the same assignment, “about B.C. 150.”

The purport of these two inscriptions is calculated to present them as being very closely contemporaneous, if not actually so. And Bühler seems to have regarded them in that light: at any rate, he gave a combined alphabet from them, taking his illustrations, indeed, chiefly from No. 1, but figuring at least the *kā*, *ñō* (imperfectly), *dhi*, and *śō* from No. 2. But we must bear in mind that he did not choose by any means all the selections presented in his plates: also, that the magnitude of his task was such as to preclude the detailed examination of records which becomes necessary in other circumstances. And an inspection of details in this case shows marked differences between the two records, which tend to separate them somewhat widely.

First, as regards language. The language of both the records is classed as Mixed Dialect: but that of No. 2 is an advance on that of No. 1, which is more of a Prākṛit. It is true that No. 1 has *rājñō*, once, while No. 2 has *rāñō*, twice. But No. 2 has *putrēṇa*, with the lingual *ṇ*, twice, against the *putrēṇa*, with the dental *n*, once, of No. 1: and it has the genitive in *sya*, four times, against the genitive in *sa*, twice or perhaps three times, of No. 1.¹ In No. 2 the first component of the name of the founder of the cave is *ashādha* (for *āshādha*): in No. 1 it is *āsādha* (also for *āshādha*).

Secondly, as regards the alphabet: here we have differences between the two records which are not indicated at all by the selection given in Bühler's plate.

No. 1 presents two types of *r*. One *r* is of the same general style with the waved *r* which is found in the records of Aśoka at Gīrnār and Rūpnāth and in Mysore;²

¹ In No. 1, l. 6, the word *ūdākasa* is damaged and doubtful: but the last syllable of it is at any rate not *sya*. The first syllable seems to be the long *ū*; not the short *u* as read by Professor Lüders.

² See Bühler, ii, 34, viii-xii.

but it is not waved to the same extent, the bends being reduced in number by using longer strokes for them: this *r* occurs twice, in *rājñō*, l. 1, and *vaihidarī*, l. 4, and has been illustrated by Bühler from the latter word. The other *r* is of the type in which the waved stroke was superseded by a plain straight one:¹ this *r*, which was not illustrated, is seen very clearly in *kāritam*, l. 6, and is also found in *savachharē* and *aravam*, l. 7.

No. 2, again, presents two types of *r*, neither of which is illustrated by the selection. It has not the waved *r*; except to the extent to which the subscript *r* is waved in both this record and in No. 1, in the stage before that in which it assumed the form of a smooth sweeping curved stroke. It has (1) the plain straight *r* of No. 1, which it presents in *rājñō*, l. 2, and *vaihidarī* and *kāritam*, l. 3. And it has (2) a still later type—later by two stages, in fact—in which the bottom of the letter was finished off by a bend up to the left: this is presented in *rājñō*, l. 1.

In No. 1 the subscript *u* in *putrasa*, l. 1, and *putrēna*, l. 4, is a plain straight vertical stroke.² In No. 2, in *puttrasya* at the middle of l. 2, the *u* is finished off, to match the second *r* of this record, by a bend up to the left; and in *putrasya* at the beginning of l. 2 and *putrēna* at the end of that line and again in l. 3, either the same form was intended but was not properly completed, or we have instances of an intermediate type, similar to that through which the *r* passed, in which the letter was finished off by a curve down to the left, before the bend upwards was developed.

¹ In this *r* in both the records, and in many other letters too, the straight lines which were intended have not always been well followed: but the intention is plain.

² In *mātulēna*, l. 3, the *u* is of a different type, as was customary in connection with the letter *t*; being a short straight horizontal stroke to the right from the end of the lower right-hand part of the *t*, as in Bühler's ii, 23, v, viii, xxiv.

There are other letters the development of which also went more or less along with that of the *r*.¹ One is the palatal *ñ*. In No. 1 the main stroke of this letter is a plain straight one. In No. 2 it is finished off, as in the *r*, by a bend up to the left: this can be seen clearly in the *rāñō* of l. 1, though this *ñō* has been figured in the selection without showing this detail; and it seems to have been intended in also the *rāñō* of l. 2.

Other such letters are the initial *a* and *ā*. Both of these occur in No. 1; and each of them is formed there entirely between what we may call the two lines of the writing.² In No. 2 we have apparently only the short *a*, twice:³ in both cases the vertical stroke is prolonged; like that of the *r*, to a length below the bottom line of the writing equal to about the measure between the lines; and in one of them, in *adhichhatrāyā*, l. 1, though perhaps not in the other case in l. 3, there seems to have been an intention, not fully carried out, to finish off the vertical, as in the *r* and *ñ* of the next word, *rāñō*, by a bend up to the left. These details, again, are not shown in the selection in Bühler's plate, where both the vowels are figured from the inscription No. 1.

In view of such differences as these, in both the language and the alphabet, it is plain that the two inscriptions cannot have been either composed by the same person or written by the same hand, at any rate

¹ The *k* in particular is such a letter: in these two inscriptions, however, we have only the *k* which matched the second *r* of No. 1 and the first *r* of No. 2; not the *k*, with the bend up to the left at the bottom of the vertical stroke, which answered to the second *r* of No. 2.

² This expression is a convenient way of indicating the limits and size of such letters as were made like our *a*, *c*, *e*, *m*, etc., without any projections above as in *b*, *d*, *f*, or below as in *g*, *j*, *p*. But, whatever may have been done in subsequent times, the more ancient writers evidently did not use much, if at all, the expedient of ruling two such lines with a view to insuring uniformity in their work; and the result was generally a considerable variation in the relative sizes of all the letters.

³ In l. 3, *ushāḍha* seems to have been written, instead of *āshāḍha*.

not at all at the same time, and cannot be contemporaneous records: an appreciable interval must be placed between them. We need not hesitate to accept Bühler's estimate, about B.C. 150, as the approximate date of No. 1: it is justified by the general style of the characters, and in particular by the occurrence of the waved *r* and the form of it which is presented. But No. 2 must be placed at least half a century later; though the use in it, as in No. 1, of a peculiar form of the superscript long *ī*, resembling in some cases the twisted horns of an antelope,¹ seems to preclude any much longer interval than that. And it seems to be a commemorative record, due to a son, grandson, or relative, or some admirer, of Āshādhasēna: apparently the inscription No. 1 was not easily readable, if at all, from the ledge in front of the cave, and No. 2 was therefore put up in a convenient position inside the cave, so that the name of the founder of the cave might be known and his memory might be preserved.

J. F. FLEET.

GINGER

The short note which I contributed under the above heading to this Journal for 1912 (p. 475 f.) has elicited communications from several scholars which encourage me to ventilate the same subject once more and to sum up the results of its discussion by Dr. Thomas and others.

The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya informed me that in Tamil the word *vērkkombu* is used for both green and dry ginger, and that the usual Tamil word for "dry ginger" is *śukku*. The former fact was mentioned also by Professor Kern, and the second by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar. First of all it may be convenient to arrange

¹ Figured by Bühler, along with the waved *r*, in the *rī* of *vaihidarī*, No. 1, l. 4.

in three groups the various terms used in some Indian dialects.

1. *Dry ginger*

Tamil *śukku*, Sanskrit, Kanarese, and Malayālam *śunṭhi*, Telugu *śonṭhi*¹ or *śonṭhikommu*, Hindī *sōṇṭh*.

2. *Green ginger*

Sanskrit *ārdra*, Hindī *ādā*, Telugu and Kanarese *alla*,² Tamil and Malayālam *iñji*.

3. *Ginger in general*

Pāli *siṅgivēra*, Sanskrit *śṛiṅgavēra*, Tamil *vērkkombu*.

The first group offers no difficulties: Dr. Thomas (above, 1912, p. 1093) is probably correct in deriving *śukku* and *śunṭhi*, etc., “dry ginger”, from the Sanskrit *śushka*, “dry”, and **śushtī*.³ His derivation of these terms is further supported by that of their counterparts *ārdra*, *ādā*, *alla*, “green ginger” (Dr. Thomas, above, 1905, p. 170). It is not only self-evident that *ārdra* goes back to the Sanskrit *ārdra*, “wet”, but *alla* is known from other sources to be one of the recognized *tadbhavas* of the latter; see Hēmachandra’s Prākṛit Grammar, i, 82, and Childers’ Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *allo* (where, however, no derivation is given).

We have now to consider the Sanskrit *śṛiṅgavēra* and Tamil–Malayālam *iñji*. The former seems to be the prototype of the Arabic *zanjabīl* which occurs in the Koran (76, 17). But, as remarked by Professor Franke (ZDMG, 47. 600), the Greek *ζιγγίβερις* is more closely related to the Pāli *siṅgivēra*, and Professor Jolly has actually found the more ancient Sanskrit form *śṛiṅgivēra* in the medical *Bhēḍasaṃhitā* (above, 1905, p. 168). These facts render Professor Uhlenbeck’s derivation of *śṛiṅgavēra* from

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 6, p. 238, text line 141 f.

² *Loc. cit.*, text line 138.

³ But, as Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar suggests, *śunṭhi* may be connected with the Tamil root *śunṭu*, “to dry up”.

śringa and its translation by "horn-shaped" untenable. Moreover, the Sanskrit word *vēra*, "the body", which figures in his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache* (Amsterdam, 1898-9), p. 297, is a fiction of Sanskrit lexicographers. They inferred its existence from the name of the god Kuvēra, which they explained by "misshapen";¹ see Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Unādisūtras (ed. Aufrecht, Bonn, 1859), i, 60 (p. 17). As I have pointed out before (above, 1912, p. 475), Dr. Gundert was the first to derive *singivēra* from the Tamil and Malayālam *iñji*, "green ginger", + *vēr*, "a root". He further compared *iñji* with Sanskrit *chīñchātaka* or *chīñchōṭaka* (which, however, cannot be proved to mean "ginger"), and thus arrived at **chīñji* as the supposed prototype of *iñji*. The Greek form *ζιγγίβερις* and the Arabic *zanjabīl* would rather take us to an original form **zingi*. At any rate, the Pāli *singivēra* shows an initial sibilant which has been lost in the Tamil *iñji*. In this connexion Professor Kern has favoured me with the following interesting remarks:—

"In my opinion the older Dravidian language possessed an *s*. I find the proof for it in the absence of the sibilant in the oldest words derived from Sanskrit, e.g. *āyiram* from *sahasram*. According to my theory this became first **saasiram*, as *sr* could not remain. After the language had lost the sibilant, **saasiram* became **aa(y)iram*, and finally *āyiram*. In the same way *āvani* comes from a Prākṛit form *sāvani* (Sanskrit *śrāvaṇī*, properly the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa), and *āḍi* from *āshādhī* (Tamil *āshādam* is a later importation). Sometimes *y* takes the place of a Sanskrit or Prākṛit sibilant, e.g. *āyāyam* = Sanskrit *ākāśa* or Prākṛit

¹ Dr. Kittel (Kannada Dictionary, p. xix) derived *vēra* from the Tamil *vayiru*, "the belly", a word which was known to Bhaṭṭa Kumārila; see now *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 42, p. 201. In a Bharaut inscription (id. 21. 234, No. 92) the word *Kuvēra* is spelt *Kupira*.

ākāsa.¹ This *y* may have originated through a softening of *ś*, perhaps *ž*. It is worth noting that some dialects still possess an *s*. Thus in Kui the numeral 'five' is *sin-gi* and the numeral 'six' *saj-gi*, and in Gōṇḍī the same are *saiyāng* and *sārāng*; i.e. *si* and *sai* correspond to the *ai* of Tamil *aindu*, 'five', and *sa* and *sā* to the *ā* of Tamil *āru*, 'six'."²

The ancient Dravidian word **singi* or **zingi*, the existence of which may be inferred from the comparison of *iñji* with *singivēra* and *ζγγιβερς*, need not be indigenous in India. As suggested by Dr. Thomas (above, 1905, p. 169), it may have been imported with the article which it denotes from Burma, Siam, or China, where the drug is designated by similar names.

The curious Tamil word *vērkkombu*, "ginger", consists of *vēr*, "a root", and *kombu*, "a horn", and looks like a later retranslation of the artificial Sanskrit word *śringavēra*, though in the latter the "horn" did not follow but preceded the "root". A similar formation is the Telugu *śonṭhikommu*, where *śonṭhi*, "dry ginger", is combined with *kommu*, "a horn".

For a list of other Sanskrit words which may be borrowed from the Dravidian languages see Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, pp. xvii ff. I would add काञ्जिक, "rice-gruel", = Tamil *kañji*, मुरुङ्गी or मुरङ्गी, "the horse-radish tree", = Tamil *muruṅgai*, Malayālam *murinṇa*, Telugu *munaga*, Kanarese *nugge*, and विट, "a roué", which is perhaps connected with the Tamil root *viḍu*, "to abandon". From Dr. Gundert's list (ZDMG, 23. 521) may be added काण, "one-eyed", = Tamil *kāṇā*, "not seeing".

¹ Dr. Gundert (ZDMG, 23. 524) adds the following examples:—Tamil *amaṇa*, *īyam*, *Īlam* = Prākṛit *samaṇa*, *sīsa*, *Sīhala*, and Malayālam *mayayiram* and *ōṇam* = Sanskrit *mṛigaśiras* and *śravaṇa*.—E. H.

² Cf. also the Telugu *padi-hēnu*, "fifteen", and *pada-hāru*, "sixteen" in which the *h* may represent an original *s*.—E. H.

I avail myself of this opportunity for a correction of my remarks on the participle *nipista*, “written”, in the Shāhbāzgarhi text of Aśōka’s rock-edicts (above, 1913, p. 654). It must not be derived from the Sanskrit *nish-pishta*, “ground”, but rather from *nipishta*, “written”, which occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia; see Professor Tolman’s *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, New York, 1908, p. 111. The word is still living in the modern Persian نوشتن, “to write”. As the Shāhbāzgarhi version is the only one in which the Indian *likhita*, “written”, is replaced by *nipista*, would it be too hazardous to assume that the latter is a foreign word which was imported from Īrān along with the Kharōshthī alphabet? And may *prastaka*, “a book”,—a word for which no satisfactory etymology is found in Sanskrit—be connected with it?

E. HULTZSCH.

VARENDRA

The Varendra Anusandhāna Samiti (Research Society) was started in the year 1910, in the district of Rājshāhi in Northern Bengal, chiefly through the exertions of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, M.A., of Dighapatiya in that district, with the object of carrying on antiquarian research in the tract of country called in Sanskrit literature Varendra, and in modern colloquial language “the Barind”. This is a tract of comparatively high land, which includes portions of the Malda, Rājshāhi, Dinājpur, Rangpur, and Bogra Districts in the Rājshāhi Division, with a stiff soil of reddish clayey loam, distinguishing it from the remainder of those districts, the soil of which is sandy alluvium of recent formation. In its general direction this belt of land runs east and west, comprising Western Bogra, South-Western Rangpur, Southern Dinājpur, and Northern Rājshāhi, but on the

west the belt takes a turn southward, and extends almost to the Ganges at Godāgāri, embracing the eastern portion of Malda and part of Western Rājshāhi. The tract in question contains many remains of ancient towns, forts, temples, and palaces, and it appears probable that the capital cities of rulers, who at different times extended their sway over wide territories in Bengal and adjacent provinces, were situated within its limits. There is evidence that the tract was once densely populated—it probably was so at a time when the adjacent stretches of more recent alluvium had not risen high enough to be fit for habitation. In later times, owing to causes not ascertained, the Barind became depopulated; overgrown with forest, and unhealthy, while population flocked into the lower alluvial areas adjoining, as these rose higher, and became cultivable and habitable. Owing to the jungle with which they were covered or surrounded, the archæological remains of the Barind were for a long time difficult of access to explorers, but some of them have been examined and described by different investigators, among whom Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, General Sir Alexander Cunningham, Messrs. Westmacott and Ravenshaw, and Dr. Blochmann, may be mentioned. In recent years, a great part of the Barind has again been opened up and brought under cultivation, largely through the agency of Santāli immigrants, and the work of investigation has thereby been greatly facilitated.

The traditional boundaries of Varendra are the Mahānandā River on the west and the Karatoyā on the east, the latter river marking the western boundary of Kāmrup, while the Mahānandā was the eastern limit of Mithila or Tirhut. Karatoyā was the name borne in ancient times by the lower course of the great Tistā River, from the point where it issues from the Himalayas. This part of the course of the Tistā has, like so many other Indian rivers, frequently shifted. In Rennell's map of

1770 the Tistā is shown as flowing from the hills almost due south, and ultimately joining the Ganges, whereas now it takes a south-easterly course, and joins the Brahmaputra near Chilmāri in Rangpur District.

It is known that in the year 1787 a change in the course of the Tistā occurred, the river swinging eastward to join the Brahmaputra at Chilmāri, and then combining with the Brahmaputra to force a new channel southward. Before that great change, the mighty river, which now sweeps down from Chilmāri to join the Ganges at Goalanda, and is known locally as the Jamunā, but is shown on maps as forming the lower course of the Brahmaputra, did not exist,—the Brahmaputra from Chilmāri flowing eastward through what is now the Maimansing District, where an attenuated stream bearing its name is at present found. Portions of rivers, or abandoned river beds, bearing locally the name of Karatoyā, are found in different places in the Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, and Bogra Districts, and probably mark some ancient course of the Tistā or Karatoyā. One such river, a narrow, sluggish stream, flows through the Bogra District, immediately to the east of Bogra town and of the site of an ancient city now known as Mahāsthān, or “the great place”, which has been identified by some as the city of Puṇḍravardhana, described by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. This Karatoyā marks the eastern limit of the Barind, as it is now known, the land to the west of the river being a stiff, reddish clay, while the land to the east of it is composed of loose, friable, sandy loam.

The River Mahānandā issues from the Himalayas, a few miles to the west of the Tistā, and takes a westerly course for some distance before it turns south to join the Ganges at Godāgāri. In the lower part of its course the Mahānandā still marks the western limit of the Barind, the land to the east of it being comparatively high and of

a stiff soil, while to the west is alluvial land of lower level and more recent formation.

The name Gauda appears to have been used in ancient times, in its narrower sense, as a synonym for Varendra, but, when the rulers of that region extended their sway to adjacent countries, the former name was employed in a wider sense, including countries subject to them besides Varendra proper. In later times the name came to be applied to the city 8 miles west of the Mahānandā, which became the Muhammadan capital of Bengal. That city, known before the Muhammadan conquest as Lakhnāotī (Lakshmaṇāvati) was first chosen as the capital of his kingdom by Lakshmaṇa Sena, the last Hindu ruler of Gauda, and probably acquired the name of Gauda from the country of which it was the capital. Before the Muhammadan conquest, the name Gauda seems to have been always applied to a country, kingdom, or empire, not to a city.

In the seventh century, at the time of Yuan Chwang's pilgrimage, Puṇḍravardhana was the name of a kingdom subordinate to Harshavardhana's empire, and of the kingdom's capital, the site of which was probably at the place now known as Mahāsthān in Bogra, at the extreme eastern limit of Varendra proper. In copper-plate grants of the Pāla kings of Gauda, Dharmapāla, Mahipāla I, Vīrahapāla III, and Madanapāla, Puṇḍravardhanabhukti is mentioned as a province or division of the kingdom. The names Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra, with which Puṇḍravardhana is obviously connected, also appear in different ancient writings as appellations of states, or provinces, or tracts of country.

The special interest of Varendra as a field of antiquarian research lies in its having been the home of the great Pāla dynasty, which ruled for some three centuries over the greater part of Bengal and Bihār, and at times brought under its sway adjacent territories in

Northern India, forming what may properly be described as an empire. The founder of the dynasty, Gopāla, who appears to have been a petty chief in Varendra, rose to power in a period of anarchy, towards the end of the eighth century, being chosen by some form of election as paramount ruler of Gauḍa, and succeeded later in bringing Magadha, or South Bihār, under his control. His successor, Dharmapāla, extended his power further to the west, and dethroned the king of Pañchāla, whose capital was Kanauj. The Senas, who replaced the Pālas in the twelfth century, are believed, on acquiring Varendra, to have made their capital at Bijayanagar near Godāgāri in the south-west of the tract, and to have subsequently moved to Lakshmanāvatī, the town which afterwards took the name of Gauḍa.

During the short period of the Varendra Research Society's existence, its members have been very active in exploring the various sites in Rājshāhi, Bogra, Rangpur, and Dinājpur, where remains of antiquarian interest are found, and a collection has been made of specimens of mediæval sculpture and ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, which have been housed temporarily in the building of the Rājshāhi Public Library. The Society proposes to publish a series of Bengali monographs dealing with different subjects connected with the history of Bengal. Two of these have already appeared:—*Gauḍarājamālā*, a history of Gauḍa down to the Muhammadan invasion; and Part I of *Gauḍalekhamālā*, an edition of inscriptions of the Pāla reigns with Sanskrit texts in the Nāgarī character, and translations and critical notes in Bengali. Other publications contemplated are Part II of *Gauḍalekhamālā*, comprising additional Pāla inscriptions, and those of the Varman and Sena dynasties, Part III of the same series (a collection of Arabic and Persian inscriptions relating to the time of the Pathān Sultans of Gauḍa), a descriptive account of places

of antiquarian interest in Varendra, a history of Gaudian Art, a treatise on ethnology, and works on grammar and Tantric philosophy, from manuscripts found in Varendra.

The Pāla Kings were Buddhists, and, when at the height of their power, were certainly the greatest reigning sovereigns of that religion in India. It is, therefore, not without reason that the claim is made that "from the ninth to the twelfth century, the whole of the Buddhist world drew its inspiration in religious literature and art from the Kingdom of Gauḍa".

The ancient university of Nālanda lay within its borders; Dharmapāla, the second Pāla King, founded a second great university at Vikramasila; and a third seat of learning, at Jagaddala in Varendra, flourished during the Pāla period.

According to the Tibetan historian, Tārānāth, two great religious painters and sculptors, named Dhiman and Vitapal, flourished in Varendra in the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla; and it is surmised that some of the best specimens of mediæval sculpture found in Bengal may be the work of those artists or their schools. The marks of decadence are discernible in sculpture attributed to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which saw the decline and fall of the kingdom of Gauḍa.

Although the inscriptions contained in part i of the *Gauḍalekhamālā* have all been printed before in different publications, a valuable service has been rendered to the history of Bengal by their collection in one place, and by the learned and discriminating commentaries of Babu Akhaya Kumar Maitra. The introduction to this collection contains an interesting quotation from the Yājñavalkya Sāṃhitā and its commentary of rules for the drafting of royal deeds of gift, in which it is laid down that the grant should be engrossed on a sheet of cotton or a copper-plate, should be preceded by an account of the

virtues and prowess of the donor and his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, should contain a specification of the donee and the land granted, with its boundaries, etc., and should bear the Rāja's seal, with the date.

The seven copper-plate grants, which are reproduced in the collection, comply more or less closely with these instructions, the preliminary eulogium of the donor and his family being in verse; the essential portion, namely, the words conveying the grant, with the description and boundaries of the land, the name and additions of the donee, and the date, in prose; and the documents concluding with some comminatory verses, directed against anyone who should disturb the grantees' possession in future. It is noteworthy that the earliest grant, of Dharmapāla, which must be assigned to the first half of the ninth century, and the latest one, of Madanapāla, probably executed early in the twelfth century, are in the same form and are largely expressed in the same words.

These grants throw some light on the Pāla system of administration, which was evidently of the feudal type. Dharmapāla's grant recites that a feudal chief named Nārāyaṇa Varma had, through the Juvarāja or heir-apparent, informed his overlord Dharmapāla that he (Nārāyaṇa Varma) had erected a temple to the god Viṣṇu, and requested Dharmapāla to make a grant of four villages to the Brahmin who had been appointed guardian of the temple. It would appear that the largest territorial division, the *bhukti*, contained so many *maṇḍalas*, each *maṇḍala* so many *viṣayas*, and each *viṣaya* so many *grāmas* or villages.

The prose portion of each grant is in the form of a notification addressed to members of the royal family, to a long list of officials, whose posts are specified, and to the cultivators of the locality, calling upon them to respect the grant. The lists of officials vary slightly in the different grants, and the functions of all of them have

not been ascertained—they may afford an interesting subject of speculation and inquiry,—but they include, besides police and revenue officials of different grades, overseers of elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, and sheep. They would thus suggest a somewhat elaborate system of administration, though of course it does not follow that all the classes of officials mentioned in each grant actually existed at the date to which it belongs. The cultivators are exhorted to pay to the donee the customary taxes, and all other kinds of revenue. These taxes appear to have included, besides the royal land-tax of a sixth part of the produce, a number of subsidiary rates and cesses payable on different accounts—perhaps the prototypes of the *abwābs* with which we are familiar in Bengal. In certain of the grants the notification takes the form, *matam astu bhavatām*, “May it please you gentlemen,” which Babu Akhaya Kumar Maitra regards as reflecting the democratic basis of the Pālas’ power. In other cases the formula is *viditam astu*, “Be it known.”

Although the Pālas were Buddhists, there is evidence that Brahmanical Hinduism enjoyed a large measure of tolerance under their rule; the hereditary ministers of four successive kings of the dynasty, including the two greatest, Dharmapāla and Devapāla, belonged to a Brahmin family, and grants of land to Hindu temples and Brahmins were made by different sovereigns of the line.

The *Gaudarājamālā*, by Babu Rāmaprasād Canda, with an introduction by Babu Akhaya Kumar Maitra, contains an exhaustive discussion of the evidence bearing on the early history of Bengal supplied by inscriptions found in Bengal and other parts of India, and available from other sources. Not the least interesting part of the work is that devoted to refuting the improbable but commonly accepted account of the conquest of Gauda contained in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. Babu

Rāmaprasād Canda shows that the "Bihar" so easily captured by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar was probably not a fortress, nor a capital city, but a Buddhist college or monastery. He also throws doubt on the identification of the "Nodiyah" of the Tabakat-i-Nasiri as Nadiya, and suggests that it may have been the same as Bijayapura, the ruins of which are believed to have been found at the place now called Bijayanagar, near Godāgāri. However this may be, it seems probable that, after Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar had conquered and occupied Magadha, or South Bihār, Lakshmaṇa Sena removed his capital from Lakshmaṇāvatī to some place at a safer distance from the frontier, and that, later on, Lakshmaṇāvatī and Western Varendra succumbed without much resistance to the Muhammadan invader.

There is some reason for surmising that, before this invasion, the Muhammadan religion had been introduced in Northern Bengal by means of peaceful conversion, the missionary preparing the way for the soldier. But the capture of Lakshmaṇāvatī by no means implied the complete conquest of Bengal. Probably it was not till long after the death of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar that Muhammadan supremacy came to be acknowledged throughout Varendra, and even then a great part of the tract continued to be administered by Hindu feudatory chiefs.

F. J. MONAHAN.

SOME CRITICAL NOTES ON AŚVAGHOSA'S BUDDHACARITA¹

In 1912 Professor C. Formichi published a new (Italian) translation of this grand poem of Aśvaghoṣa, with introduction and critical notes. This work was

¹ [The death of Professor Speijer while this article was passing through the press is a matter for profound regret, and not less on account of his personal qualities than of the eminent services which he had rendered, and might still have rendered, to Sanskrit and Buddhist studies. An

reviewed in the ZDMG. for that year (lxvi, 517–19) by Professor E. Leumann, with whose praise and blame—for his appreciation was of mixed character—I fully agree. In some respects Professor Formichi's translation marks a progress since Cowell; yet in many a case he is in the wrong, as will appear to any scholar who takes the trouble to compare both.

The appearance of a new book on the Buddhacarita induced me to read the poem carefully over once more. As a small fruit of this perusal I offer to the readers of this Journal some new proposals for emending corrupt passages. Some of them presented themselves to my mind in this *iterata lectio*; others I have taken from my previous marginal notes. *Boni consulas, benevole lector!*

First of all, I would draw attention to a large gap in canto I, which, I believe, has until now not been observed.

The passage I, 35–45, describes in detail the rejoicing of all classes of beings, Devas, Nāgas, etc., at the birth of the Bodhisattva in his last existence, and points out the manifold tokens of honour and worship which they bestow upon the holy child. This description not only ends abruptly, but in the next verse (I, 46) the reader is on a sudden transported to a quite different stage. He finds himself, without the slightest hint of this transition being supplied by the poet, a hearer of the answer given by the learned Brahmans to Śuddhodana concerning the destiny of his son. This verdict of the *naimittikas*

obituary notice is printed below. After perusing in MS. and later in proof my respected friend's contribution, I had intended to examine and report to him the evidence of the Tibetan version in regard to the critical points which he here discusses; and I had indeed the satisfaction of announcing to him the confirmation by that version of his suspicion of a gap after verse i, 45. I have examined also the other passages which he discusses, and in one or two cases I am recording the result in notes. To do more would hardly be of advantage, as in a future re-edition of the text both that version and Professor Speijer's notes will no doubt be taken into full consideration.—F. W. T.]

comes to a conclusion in verse 51. It is, moreover, very unlikely, not to say impossible, that verse 46 should be its exordium. The sentence which begins *yad rājaçāstram*, etc., cannot be understood as the preamble of a speech uttered by counsellors to their king; it evidently belongs to a substantive part of that speech, the illustration by examples of a general rule which is laid down—probably also laid down a second time—in verse 51. The previous part of the answer must be lost.

That there must be a gap between the verses 45 and 46 necessarily follows also from another consideration. The very wording of verse 52, *एवं नृपः प्रत्ययितैर्दिजैस्तैः*, etc., demonstrates that those Brahmins are not mentioned here for the first time, but must have been introduced in a former portion of the canto. How can the pronoun *taiḥ* be otherwise accounted for? Formichi translates “i suoi brahmani”, as if the text had *सैः* instead of *तैः*;¹ Cowell avoids the difficulty by writing “the brahmins”.

Having become convinced of the existence of a considerable gap between I, 45 and 46—and is it not in itself extremely improbable that Āsvaghoṣa should have passed over the convocation of the brahmins by the king and the reason of that convocation, and how he addressed them, putting them questions?—I consulted vol. xix of SBE., which contains Beal's English translation of the Chinese version of the Buddhacarita. And at once I realized that a large portion of the Chinese text is missing in the tradition of the Sanskrit text, from about verse 32 *apud* Beal (p. 6) to verse 56 (p. 10). There can, I think, exist little doubt that the contents of this portion (the conclusion of the miraculous phenomena; Māra's grief; the attitude of Śuddhodana and Māyā; the naimittikas'² observation of the superhuman signs on the

¹ He does so tacitly.

² Of course a number of them, though Beal from his Chinese source mentions only one Brahmin.

body of the child; and the first part of their verdict), be they ever so unreliable in detail, must have formed part also of the original text, when still intact. This missing portion makes up about twenty-four stanzas of the Chinese. Assuming the proportion of the number of verses between the Sanskrit text and the same text in Chinese garb to be nearly the same as in the preceding thirty-two verses of the Chinese, which correspond to thirty-seven Sanskrit ones (Chinese, I, 1-32 = Sanskrit, I, 9-45), about twenty-eight stanzas may have been lost between I, 45 and I, 46.¹

In the following I venture to propose some new emendations :—

I, 43. Better than by the reading of Böhtlingk and Kielhorn तद्दर्शनार्थं वनमापुपूरे the text will be amended thus: तद्दर्शनायाम्बरमापुपूरे. The celestials and the atmospherical divine beings are always represented in the sky, and the parallel passage signalized by Leumann and quoted by Formichi has the selfsame turn. I conjectured thus many years before knowing the note of Leumann.²

III, 14. ताः स्रस्तकाञ्चीगुणविघ्निताश्च सुप्तप्रबुद्धाकुललोचनाश्च ।
वृत्तांतविन्यस्तविभूषणाश्च कौतूहलेनानिभृताः परीयुः ॥³

What is here the meaning of वृत्तांत ? Cowell translates “in the stir of the news”, Formichi “all’udire la notizia”, though *vṛttānta* by itself, without some verb of arousing or hearing added, cannot of course convey this meaning. It simply means the “news” and nothing more. Yet Cowell realized that the poet must have expressed somehow that the ladies put on their ornaments in a hurry. It is, however, a mistake made by the translators that they attributed that signification to

¹ [The Tibetan version confirms Professor Speijer’s view, showing at this point about seventeen additional verses.—F. W. T.]

² [The Tibetan supports *vanam*.—F. W. T.]

³ I have adopted here the correction of Lüders अनिभृताः.

vinysta. The verb *vinystati* is here = Latin *disponit*: it does not imply the idea of *samblrama* and "haste". That such a *bhāva* is likely to be described by Aśvaghoṣa is clear; but it is not in the word *vinysta* that we have to seek for the adequate term indicating the agitation of the matrons anxious to contemplate the prince passing. The fact is that the expression of the haste is hidden under the corrupt वृत्तांत. The genuine reading must be वृथात्त°. The ladies went down from their apartments, having put in their different places (विन्यस्त) the ornaments (विभूषण) which they had taken up (आत्त) in a hurry at random, the first they could get (वृथा), as they had no time to make a choice. *Vrthā* has here its old meaning, which is akin to that of Latin *temere*, Greek *εἰκῆ*, and which is instanced by passages from the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (वृथामांस) in the St. Petersburg Dict., s.v. वृथा.¹

III, 48. The Bodhisattva has come home from his second drive outside his palace grounds in a sad and meditative frame of mind. The king seeing him thus returning (तं द्विस्तथा प्रेक्ष्य च संनिवृत्तं), and having heard what *nimitta* occasioned that melancholy mood, acts as is explicitly stated in the stanzas 49 and 50. But how the king came to know that *nimitta* we do not read in our text. Instead of this we are informed that the king "entered the city (himself)" (Cowell), "si recò in città" (Formichi) = पुर्यागमं भूमिपतिश्चकार. This entering of the city by the king, who has not before been said to have left his capital, is not only out of place, but also inconsistent with his having seen (प्रेक्ष्य) his son come back. Moreover, the wording itself, पुर्यागमं चकार, to express his coming into his capital, is strange and suspect. Instead of पुर्यागमं I propose पर्येषणं as the true reading. The old king, *taṃ prekṣya samnivr̥ttaṃ*, made an inquiry, *paryeṣaṇaṃ cakāra*; thereby he learns of the *nimitta* and acts

¹ [The Tibetan has, however, *gnas-lugs-gtam-gyis* = वृत्तान्त.—F. W. T.]

accordingly. The Chinese version of our poem (verse 236 on p. 35 of Beal's translation) has likewise "asked anxiously the reason why", but knows nothing of that returning of the old king to his capital. I guess that the source of the depravation of *paryeṣaṇam* into *purāyā-gaṇam* is to be sought in a misspelt पर्येक्षणं.¹

IV, 38. शुभेन वदनेनान्या भूकामुक्कविकर्षिणा ।
प्रावृत्यानुचकारास्य चेष्टितं वीरलीलया ॥

I do not wonder that प्रावृत्या°, as edited by Cowell, is disapproved by scholars. Cowell's interpretation of that word is strained. But neither प्रकृत्या°, the conjecture of Böhtlingk, nor Formichi's proposal to read प्रनृत्या° are satisfactory. The genuine reading cannot, I think, be but आकृत्या°; I adopt *ākṛtyānucakārāsya*, etc., with the meaning "she imitated him by (assuming his) outer appearance". *Ākṛtyā* is the instrumental of *ākṛti* of the kind instanced in my Sanskrit Syntax, § 73. Cf. Raghuvamṣa, xi, 13.

IV, 52. अपि नाम विहङ्गानां वसन्तेनाहितो मदः ।
न तु चिंतयतश्चित्तं जनस्य प्राज्ञमानिनः ॥

I am not satisfied with चित्तं. This word disturbs the construction of the whole sentence, whether it is taken as the nominative case or as the accusative. Formichi, as well as Cowell, translating here rather freely, does not solve the difficulty, and will scarcely be followed in his effort to account for the genitives *vihaṅgānām* and *cintayataḥ* by making them dependent on the verb *ā + dhā*. In his note on p. 335 of his book he seems to explain *cintayataś cittam* as a so-called accus. etymologicus, which is of course impossible.

By a slight correction, reading चित्ते instead of चित्तं, all will become right. Construe: *api nāma vihaṅgānām*

¹ [Tibetan *yonis-su-gros-byas-so* = a compound with *pari* = (probably *paryeṣaṇa*) made consultation.—F. W. T.]

(*citte*) *vasantena mada āhitaḥ, na tu cintayato janasya citte?* "should Spring infuse love's drunkenness into the mind of the birds and not in the mind of the being endowed with reason and holding himself for wise?"

IV, 56. **जरेयं** must be corrected into **जरेदं**. Youth (*yauvana*) is mentioned in the preceding line, old age (*jarā*) not so. If we keep *jareyam*, the reading of MSS., the pronoun *iyam* cannot be accounted for, whereas *idam* (viz. *yauvanam*) is the very pronoun wanted. I read the whole stanza as follows:—

किमिमा नावगच्छन्ति चपलं यौवनं स्त्रियः ।

यतो रूपेण संपन्नं जरेदं नाशयिष्यति ॥

"how is it that these women do not realize the fickleness of youth, since, may it be ever so adorned with beauty, old age will ruin it?"

IV, 92. **यद्यथा**, etc. I doubt the genuineness of *yadi*. There is no room here for a concessive particle. The prince must mean: "and as regards your assertion that with females it is allowed to use untrue speech, I do not understand," etc. In other terms, **यद्यपि** is a clerical error for **यदपि**. Cowell, indeed, translates "and when thou sayest", not "if".

V, 22. Kielhorn was right in stating that the second *pāda*, **प्रविविक्षुः परमाश्वमारुरोह**, as found in the MSS. and edited by Cowell, must be somehow corrupted, since the object of *pravivikṣuḥ* cannot be wanting. His correction **पुरमश्व°** does not satisfy. The adversative particle **तु**, introducing what follows in *pāda c*, shows that the prince by going to the town and not to the forest had changed his mind. How, then, can it be said in the preceding line that he mounted on horseback with the intention of going to the town? On the contrary, the prince, under the strong impression of the miraculous appearance of the monk, had made up his mind to betake himself to the forest (cl. 21*d*). Yet **परिवारजनमवेक्षमाणः** (the true

reading is here proposed by Lüders), he did not follow his inclination, and, putting off that design until a later time (सृतौ निधाय), he returned into the town. Hence it follows that Asvaghosa cannot have expressed himself but thus: प्रविविचुर्वनमश्चमारुरोह "he mounted on horse-back, in order to enter the forest".¹

V, 58. शिथिलाकुलमूर्धजा तथान्या

जघनस्रस्तविभूषणांशुकान्ता ।

अशयिष्ट विकीर्णकण्डसूत्रा

गजभग्ना प्रतिपातितांगनेव ॥

The *upamā* contained in the fourth pāda is differently understood by Cowell and Formichi. According to Cowell the *aniganā* in question is a(nother) woman "crushed by an elephant and then dropped"; Formichi explains the word as denoting a female elephant, subdued (*bhagnā*) by a male elephant and thrown to the ground. Both interpretations are to be rejected, since they would involve the highly improbable, not to say impossible, assumption of a simile borrowed, not from ordinary and common things, but from something unusual and far-fetched. Moreover, in the interpretation of Formichi the descriptive part of the rhetorical figure, as it is elaborated in the pādas *a*, *b*, and *c*, fails to have its effect. *Śithilā-kulamūrdhajā*, etc., suits the female musician; how can it be explained to fit the female elephant? We have rather to expect that the girl, lying on the ground with dishevelled hair and her ornaments sliding down from their places, should be compared to some creeper, trampled down by the feet of an elephant and crushed. Accordingly I suppose °*tāṅganeva* to be corrupt, and confidently emend प्रतिपातिता लतेव.

VII, 12. The first word of this stanza, तत्, can be accounted for neither as a conclusive particle nor as a pronoun. In fact, both translators leave it out in their

¹ [The Tibetan has *gron-la* = *puram*.—F. W. T.]

translations. I suspect its genuineness, and read the first pāda as follows: अपूर्वमद्याग्रमदर्शनं मे. *Apūrva*, not *pūrva*, is the very word wanted: "it is the very first time I see an hermitage; for this reason," etc.

VII, 13. Cowell has edited: तपोविशेषं तपसः फलं च, following the Paris MS. The Cambridge MS. has तपोविशेषां त°. Considering that the prince wants to be informed of the various kinds of *tapas* (the तपोविकाराः of st. 11), and that after the detailed general exposition of *tapas* in st. 14 there follows an account of the भिन्नाः . . . तपसां विकल्पाः—note the plural *tapasām*—the true reading must surely be तपोविशेषांस्तपसः फलं च. The ascetic, in fact, does not praise the excellence (*viśeṣam*) of the *tapas*, but commemorates the manifold kinds (*viśeṣān*) of it.¹

VII, 43. वासस्त्वया हीन्द्रसमेन सार्धं

बृहस्पतेरभ्युदयावहः स्यात् ॥

Cowell retains in his edition this reading of the MSS., and translates: "to dwell with thee who art like Indra would bring prosperity even to Brhaspati." This interpretation seems to me better than Formichi's, who takes *abhyudaya* as meaning the same as *udaya*, "arising," a rather arbitrary opinion, which makes him render the line thus: "il dimorare con te che sei simile ad Indra farebbe di certo sorgere un (secondo) Brhaspati." Far-fetched, indeed!

I suppose a slight fault. We have but to replace the *bh* in *abhyudayā*° by the aksara *t*, which is so similar to it in Nepalese MSS., and we get—

वासस्त्वया हीन्द्रसमेन सार्धं

बृहस्पतेरत्युदयावहः स्यात् ॥

"to dwell with thee, who art like Indra, would bring a source of delight (even) to Brhaspati." The sub-audition

¹ [The Tibetan has *khyad-par-rnams* = *viśeṣān*.—F. W. T.]

of अपि cannot be a hindrance to the emendation, in poetry.¹

VIII, 49. तदेवमावां नरदेवि दोषतो

न तत्प्रयातं प्रतिगंतुमर्हसि ।

Cowell translates : "Do not therefore assume that his departure arises from the fault of either of us, O queen !" Formichi likewise : "Però, o regina degli uomini, non voler credere che la partenza di lui avvenne per colpa di noi due." The purport of the sentence is in this manner well rendered, yet the interpretation is anything but exact. It rests on the assumption that *pratigantum* = *pratyetum*, "to believe"; but since there does not exist, as far as is known, another instance thereof, Cowell himself supposed a corruption in *pratigantum* and proposed *pratipattum*. But neither this nor any other correction of the transmitted akṣaras is required. They are sound and genuine. The awkwardness of interpreting them arises from a wrong division of words ; प्रतिगन्तुम्, in fact, is not one word, but two. Read न तत्प्रयातं (if not °यातिं, as is in MS. C) प्रति गन्तुमर्हसि, and construe : *nārhasy āvām doṣato gantum tatprayātaṁ* (or °*prayātiṁ*) *prati*, "do not therefore inculcate us in this manner for his departure." *Doṣato gantum* = *dūṣayitum*. Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Bomb., vi, 105, 13 : नास्मिन्नर्थे महाराज त्वं मां . . . दोषतो गन्तुमर्हसि. As to *prati* cf. Buddhacarita, xiii, 16 : शैलेन्द्रपुत्रीं प्रति येन विद्धो देवो ऽपि शम्भुः.

VIII, 54. Formichi declares the first line of this stanza to be inexplicable and a *locus desperatus*; he does not even venture to translate the stanza. My opinion on this point is quite different. Not only does the purport of the verse seem clear to me, but I think also that it has been faultlessly transmitted by the MSS. There is no reason to change with Cowell पतिं (a word, moreover, indispensable for the sentence) into प्रति to avoid to construe अभागिनी

¹ [The Tibetan *mnon. par. mtho. ba* supports *abhyu*°.—F. W. T.]

with the accusative. Though that construction looks somewhat strange, it is unobjectionable. Why, when nobody will find fault with a turn like this, *anarhā vasundharā tam patim*, "Earth does not deserve him as her ruler," should one be averse to such a one, where *anarhā* is replaced by *abhāginī*? The objective accusative with verbal nouns in °in is sufficiently proved as good Sanskrit; cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 271b, my Sanskrit Syntax, § 52, and Rām., ed. Bomb., i, 6, 19:

शूद्राः स्वकर्मनिरतास्त्रीन्वर्णानुपचारिणः.¹

IX, 32. The prince, justifying his retirement from the world, says that he would not have left his family and relatives, if separation from them were not something unavoidable. In the half-śloka which contains the second member of the alternative, "since separation is unavoidable, for this reason," etc., there is a gap of three syllables filled up by Cowell. I should prefer to fill it up otherwise. In my opinion, Aśvaghoṣa's text may be better restored by reading the stanza as follows:—

द्रष्टुं प्रियं कः स्वजनं हि नेच्छेन्
नासौ यदि स्यात्प्रियविप्रयोगः ।
यदा तु भावी प्रि(यविप्र)योगस्
ततो गुरुं स्निग्धमपि त्यजामि ॥

भावी = भविता is my conjecture for भूत्वा, and in the पि that follows I recognize the mutilated first syllable of प्रिय°. Our poet greatly likes the repetition of the same wording in both members of alternative and adversative sentences.

IX, 38. Leaving aside the pādas *a* and *b*, where the Bodhisattva, refuting the prejudice that only old age is the proper time to forsake the world, just as in the foregoing and following verses he repeatedly employs the terms *kāla* and *akāla* — which verses owing to their corrupt and fragmentary condition I do not understand — I think I might propose a plausible correction of pādas

¹ [The Tibetan seems to omit VIII, 54.—F. W. T.]

c and d, which contain an independent sentence. By reading *sarvakāle* for *sarvakālā*, and changing the non-sensical subsequent akṣaras नर्चाहके into नन्वीप्सितः, we would get a line that runs thus :—

कालो जगत्कर्षति सर्वकाले

नन्वीप्सितः श्रेयसि सर्वकालः ॥

“Death drags away the living at every time. Is, then, not every time fit for (striving at) the Highest Good ?”¹

IX, 56. The reader of Cowell's translation of this stanza must be struck by the self-contradiction of the view expressed. Liberation is first promised as attainable by the line of precepts laid down in st. 55—viz. the discharge of one's debts to the Ancestors, the Ṛsis, and the Devas—and immediately after it is said : “those who seek liberation will find (nothing but) weariness.” The translation of the edited text is here, indeed, good ; but the original cannot possibly have this purport. It is clear that the king's counsellor must mean this : “Pay your debt to the Pitaras, the Ṛsis, the Devas ; by these means you will obtain salvation ; those who seek for liberation *in some other way* do not get it, may they exert themselves ever so.” In other terms, the second line of st. 56 is to be read thus :—

प्रयत्नवन्तो ऽन्यविधिक्रमेण

मुमुक्षवः खेदमवाप्नुवन्ति ॥

XII, 19. The emendation विद्धि in pāda a, proposed by Windisch, cannot be upheld, as it spoils the metre. From the transmitted बुद्धिस्तु of C, I rather elicit बुद्धेस्तु, and विद्धि of cl. 18 is to be understood also in 19. Arāḍa teaches here that the eleven *indriyāṇi* and their *viṣayās* are modifications of *buddhi*.²

¹ [The Tibetan confirms this translation. It also implies अर्थविधौ, a probable reading, in the previous line.—F. W. T.]

² [The Tibetan *mkhyen. mdzod* agrees with Professor Windisch.—F. W. T.]

XII, 22. जायते जीर्यते चैव बध्यते म्रियते च यत् ।

तद्व्यक्तमिति विज्ञेयमव्यक्तं च विपर्ययात् ॥

There is here no room for such a word as बध्यते. The different phases of individual existence are here enumerated, and "being bound" is not one of them, but the very essence of any such existence at all. It is not *badhyate* that is here required, but *bādhyate*. Birth (*jāyate*) and its triad of undesirable yet unavoidable consequences—old age (*jīryate*), pain (*bādhyate*), and death (*mriyate*)—are styled *vyaktam*, "the material world," the same idea in Buddhist terminology being also denoted by the term *dr̥ṣṭa-dharma*, Pali *dit̤ṭhadhammo*, cf. Childers, s.v. For this reason I confidently read बाध्यते. Āsvaghoṣa uses the same word also in another passage: XIV, 27.

XIII, 29c. तमश्च भूयो विततार रात्रेः "a deeper darkness of night spread around" (Cowell). This must of course be meant. It is, however, scarcely admissible to assume for *vitatarati* the acceptation "to spread about". Kern corrected विततान. To this may be objected the improbability of the parasmaipada having here an intransitive sense. I should therefore, while keeping विततान, prefer to read तमश्च भूयो विततान रात्री, "Night intensified her spreading out (her veil of) darkness." Note that the visarga after रात्रे is not found in C.

XIII, 33. Both Cowell and Formichi are at a loss to extract a good sense from the first and second pāda of this stanza: उपस्रुतं धर्मविदसु तस्य दृष्ट्वा स्थितं मारबलं महर्षिः । न चुक्षुभे, etc. How can the genitives *dharmavidas tasya* denote the Bodhisattva signified by the subject *maharṣiḥ*? If the reading is right, they cannot but designate another than that subject. This conclusion is so imperative that Formichi even sought to demonstrate that *sa dharmavit* should be Māra himself! But the reading is not right. Several emendations have been proposed, see Formichi, p. 397 f. Here is one more which, if probable, would

heal the wound in a very simple manner. I would, then, propose :

उपसृतं (if not उपसृती, with Böhtlingk) धर्मविदसृतस्तु दृष्ट्वा, etc.

“ But the Great Ṛṣi, knowing the Dharma and invincible (as he was), when he perceived the host of Māra overflowing. . . .” *Astrta*, “invincible,” is a Vaidik word, indeed; but this is no reason why Aśvaghoṣa should not have made use of it. There are other instances of such words found in his poems, which in the Petropolitan Dictionary are only exemplified by passages taken from Vaidik texts; for instance, Buddhacarita, II, 54, निपात (observed); II, 36, द्रव्यं (gold); VIII, 82, अवधृत (fixed); the archaic meaning of “resting” of रेमे, V, 46. Cf. also my note on III, 14.¹

J. S. SPEYER.

THE BRAHMANIC AND KSHATRIYA TRADITION

Mr. Pargiter in the last number of this Journal (pp. 885–904) has discovered in a Pauranic tradition materials for the reconstruction of a most interesting chapter in ancient Indian traditional history, the relation of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. As his reconstruction ends with a criticism of the distrust of the epic tradition evinced by Professor Macdonell and myself, it is of interest to me to examine the arguments by which the reconstruction and rehabilitation of tradition are carried out.

At the outset of this examination we are confronted by two propositions which are stated by Mr. Pargiter in absolute terms: (1) “The course of all tradition is from the simple and natural to the extravagant and marvellous”; (2) “It is impossible to treat brahmanic tradition as a critical standard, when notoriously the brahmins had

¹ [Tibetan *chos-kyi-cho-ga* seems to imply a reading *dharmavidhes*.—F. W. T.]

little or no notion of history". Neither of these propositions is self-evident, and neither, in my opinion, can be regarded as true. In the first place the course of tradition may be from the simple and natural to the extravagant and marvellous, but there is the other side of the question, the fact that since and before Euhemerus man has been prone to employ his intellect to render simple and natural what appears irrational, extravagant, and marvellous. If a version is simpler than another, it may be more primitive; it may equally be an attempt to render simple what was more confused, or merely a brief allusion to what was well known otherwise; and to apply as of universal validity the test of simplicity as a test of age is to beg the question. The same fallacy, in the second place, affects the attack on the brahmanic notion of history. For whence does Mr. Pargiter derive the evidence for this theory? What conceivable right have we for the period, say to 500 B.C., to make any assertion regarding the brahmanic notions of history in contrast with those of the Kṣatriyas? We could only set up a canon if we could contrast the Kṣatriya tradition of the Vedic period, say to 500 B.C., with the Brāhmaṇa tradition and see that the former by its coherence and consistency claimed superiority over that of the brahmins. This, however, we cannot do; all that Mr. Pargiter can attempt is (1) to reconstruct a tradition which is to be carried back to the Vedic period, and then (2) to prove that the tradition is superior by contrast with the Brāhmaṇa standard. To assert that the Brāhmaṇa tradition is not a critical standard because the brahmins had little or no knowledge of history is a mere *petitio principii*.

A third objection to Mr. Pargiter's views suggests itself; he distinguishes between a Kṣatriya and a brahmanic tradition, but does not explain the grounds on which this distinction is based. There is a plain and obvious distinction, which has been universally recognized,

between the sacred Vedic texts, the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* (including the earlier *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*), and the epic tradition, embodied first and foremost in the two great epics and then in the *Purāṇas*. But "the *Purāṇas*, as we have them now, are brahmanic compilations",¹ and equally so are the epics, and I am wholly at a loss to see what right we have to select one part as brahmanic, one as Kṣatriya tradition.

A further difficulty must be frankly mentioned. "This ballad," we are told,² "may well have been handed down by Court bards and then put into writing six or seven centuries B.C." This suggestion is wholly conjectural, and it is well to realize that the story which we are invited to believe existed at the time of the great *Brāhmaṇas* is found only in a series of *Purāṇas*. The date of these works (*Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma*, *Śiva*, *Linga*, and the *Harivaṃśa*) cannot by any reasonable possibility be placed before the Christian era—it is unnecessary for my purpose to argue more than that, though their dates may well be a good deal later³—and this gives ample room for later manipulation of Vedic tradition.

This, then, is the real problem: we have a Vedic tradition, which is incidentally handed down in a series of sacred texts, dating from before Buddha; it is a tradition of priests, but as priests were the learned men, the bards, at any rate in some cases, of the community, there is no *a priori* probability that another divergent tradition existed among the Kṣatriyas. We do find in texts over 500 years later in date than the Vedic period certain other traditions. We cannot solve questions of priority by the dismissal of brahminical accuracy, but must resort to an examination of the two legends without prejudice other than the natural preference for the older. The *onus probandi* lies on those who seek to show that the later contains a purer tradition.

¹ p. 889.² p. 902.³ See JRAS. 1907, p. 681.

Now the later tradition exists in varied forms, and there are therefore two questions, first to decide the older of the forms, and then to compare that with the Vedic tradition. The traditional version of the dispute between Vasistha and Viśvāmitra is familiar from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and it centres in the efforts of Viśvāmitra to obtain the status of a brahmin. In the version described by Mr. Pargiter we hear of Satyavrata, son of Trayyāruṇa, king of Kosala, who for an offence is banished by his father; Vasistha deliberately does not intervene to prevent his banishment, and assumes the government of the realm, the father retiring in vexation to the forest. The banished prince in exile rescued the son, Gālava, of Viśvāmitra, who, engaged in the penance which won him brahminhood, had left his wife and children without adequate means of support. Satyavrata also killed Vasistha's cow (*sarvakāmadughā*), and was thence named by the latter the man of three *śaṅkus* or sins (*Triśaṅku*). On his return from his penance, as a seer, Viśvāmitra restored Satyavrata Triśaṅku to his kingdom, and raised him in his corporeal body to the sky.

This tale seems to Mr. Pargiter probable and natural as compared with the *Rāmāyaṇa* version, and this simplicity in his view makes it undoubtedly older than the latter. More specifically he argues that the version could not have been composed when the version in the epics existed, and if composed could not have been admitted into the *Purāṇas*. Neither argument has any value; it is a pure assumption that no new version of a legend could be created after the epic legends had come into existence, and, in view of the plain testimony borne by the comparison of epic and *Purāṇa* tales in other cases¹ of the many variant versions of ancient legends current, an

¹ See e.g. the various versions of the R̥ṣyaśṛṅga episode analysed by Lüders, and those of the Purūravas and other legends examined by Geldner and Sieg. Cf. also JRAS. 1911, p. 1105.

assumption wholly unjustified. More importance attaches to the argument that the version of a conflict of Viśvāmitra and Indra in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is due to a misunderstanding of the name of Vasiṣṭha, Devarāj, which he finds in this narrative. That is the kind of point which is really of importance, if valid. Unhappily in this case it is not valid; it rests on a comparison of two epic verses where *devarāj* in one corresponds to *bhūtakṛt* in the other, and which record that Vasiṣṭha caused all creatures to live in a period of drought; they do not, as Mr. Pargiter says, refer to administration of the kingdom at all, and therefore they in no way illustrate the *Purāṇa* legends. Nor in the second place is *bhūtakṛt* synonymous with *devarāj*; the meaning of it, "the creator," is abundantly explained by the verse which ends *Prajāpatiḥ iva prajāḥ*: *Prajāpati* is *bhūtapati* as early as the *Brāhmaṇas*, and so the theory that *bhūtakṛt* = Indra = *devarāj* at once is invalidated. The idea that Devarāj was Vasiṣṭha's personal name and was mistaken for Indra rests accordingly on the weakest foundation.¹

On the other hand, for the theory that the *Purāṇa* version is in no wise primitive, a good deal may be said. It clearly knows the contest regarding Vasiṣṭha's cow (vv. 52-7), and it is guilty of the absurdity in the context in which the episode is placed of treating the ruler of a kingdom as possessing only one cow, as Mr. Pargiter himself points out. But in the *Rāmāyaṇa* version the cow is that of Vasiṣṭha's hermitage and the only cow necessary to a hermit, a clear sign that the epic is more primitive in this regard. Mr. Pargiter himself again admits that the episode of Gālava is suspiciously

¹ Mr. Pargiter's further identification of *devarāj* and *divaukas* (they are "nearly equivalent", p. 897, n. 2) leads him into the unhappy conjecture of *divaukasam* = Vasiṣṭha in the place of the picturesque touch by which Satyavrata's interference with the marriage is called an assault on the gods, a touch in full harmony with the religious ceremony of marriage and far from absurd or impossible (p. 894, n. 1).

like an ætiological explanation of the name; but he does not note that the selling of the boy for a hundred cows and the binding are obviously derived from the Śunaḥśepa story familiar from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Finally, the episode of Triśaṅku is equally far from primitive; Mr. Pargiter¹ himself admits that the etymology is doubtful, but he rationalizes the story by the view that on the death of Triśaṅku, probably soon after his restoration, in consequence of the hardships he had undergone, Viśvāmitra honoured him by naming a constellation after him. This is Euhemerism with a vengeance, but for our purpose all we need note is that there is absolutely nothing to show that this version is older than the epic; it merely says that Viśvāmitra raised the king to heaven with his body, quoting a pair of old stanzas to the effect that Triśaṅku shines in the sky through Viśvāmitra's favour; this may presuppose the elaborate epic version or it may not. But, taken on the whole, there is no reason to rate as early this piece of bald patchwork, with its wholly unintelligible tale of Vasiṣṭha's motive, which Mr. Pargiter² interprets as a priestly seizure of power.

The next question is the relation of this version to the Vedic tradition. Is it the real explanation of the Vedic opposition of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra? Here we find that the Vedic tradition has no trace of Satyavrata Triśaṅku, and that on the contrary the figure of Sudās appears as the king with whom the priests Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha stood in connexion; equally the Vedic tradition ignores Gālava—though it contains, as we have seen, the real source of that legend, just as the “wish cow”³ of Vasiṣṭha has an historical connexion with Vedic tradition. How can we reject the Vedic evidence of assured date in favour of this legend, late in its proved

¹ p. 903.

² pp. 895, 900, n. 1.

³ See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 150.

existence, and on all sides full of signs of secondary origin? It is a minor matter that Trayyārūṇa figures as a Kosala king, and that Tryarūṇa of the Vedic texts is a prince of what was later the Kuru country.

All the epic versions, however, agree with this account in regarding Viśvāmitra as undergoing penance, and he is in the epics treated as a king who became a brahmin. Mr. Pargiter¹ defends this view, and holds that the silence of the *Rigveda* is natural, since he had abandoned his kingly status and resolutely turned his back on the past. But it is equally natural and less imaginative to assume that his kingship is not mentioned in the *Rigveda* because it did not exist. What is important to note is that the mere fact of the kingship of Viśvāmitra, even if admitted, leaves us without any explanation of the importance attached in the epic to his becoming a brahmin. Mr. Pargiter, who recognizes this, finds in the episode of Satyavrata the reason of the struggle, but there is an equally good and much more ancient explanation, the facts connected with the Purohitaship of Sudās.

To sum up, the Vedic tradition shows two priests disputing over the favour and Purohitaship of a prince, Sudās, whose reality is beyond doubt. This tradition cannot reasonably be placed later than 800 B.C., the lowest date for the texts which record it. There are two non-Vedic traditions: one, the epic, deals in great detail with the alleged efforts which Viśvāmitra had to make to become a brahmin; the other traces the enmity of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha to a quarrel in connexion with a prince, Triśaṅku. Now the first legend in its attitude towards the position of a brahmin as compared with a king is not early Vedic, but it does represent a strain of thought which appears in a simpler form in the Upaniṣad period of Vedic literature, in which we are

¹ p. 887.

told, e.g., that Janaka of Videha became a brahmin in the sense at least that he attained the learning of one. The legitimate view is that this story is a later development of sub-Vedic times, and this accords with its late appearance in literature. The other story in its kernel is totally different from the Vedic account of the feud of the two priests; it evidently presupposes that Viśvāmitra was not originally a priest; it operates with a prince, unknown to Vedic fame, whom it identifies with Triśaṅku, of whom we only know that the old tradition (reported by this version) made him a constellation; it invents a most absurd explanation of his name, and reproduces an old Vedic tale of Śunaḥśepa in a mutilated form regarding a certain Gālava. It is in my opinion wholly impossible to see in all this any possible gain to the Vedic tradition; in this case, as in others, it seems to me that the effort to exploit the later texts adds nothing to our knowledge of Vedic times. We can, of course, heap conjecture on conjecture, and erect plausible edifices, but the substructions of our buildings seem to me to be wholly untrustworthy.

Of minor points may be noticed that the argument¹ that the interpretation of Vidarbha in the version of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as "prince of Vidarbha" must be wrong because the kingdom of Vidarbha did not come into being until later, rests on the assumption that the narrative is one of strict truth and that the date of the founding of the kingdom of Vidarbha can be fixed as later than this epoch, and that neither assumption need be correct. It might plausibly be argued that the severe punishment was due to the enormity of the offence, nor can it be doubted that the *Purāṇas* meant "prince of Vidarbha", even if their account is the less primitive. But of this there is no evidence; the explanation of vv. 39-40 may be mere special pleading, and the crime have been

¹ p. 893, n. 10.

committed after the ceremony was completed. Vidarbha as a citizen's name is surely wholly impossible.

In conclusion, I may add that Mr. Pargiter's criticism¹ of Professor Macdonell's and my view of Triśaṅku is again based on a *petitio principii*. Triśaṅku, the religious teacher of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, is "manifestly different from and later than the king Triśaṅku". But why? The teacher of the Upaniṣad was presumably a reality to judge from the way he is referred to, and the king Triśaṅku is a mythical person who ascends the sky in his own person and moves as a constellation, as the legends which are the sole authority for his personality agree in telling us. To compare these two with Saul the king and Saul the religious teacher is merely to prejudice the issue. Both of these men were real, but it is a mere assumption that a real Triśaṅku other than the teacher ever existed.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE PHONETICS OF THE WARDAK VASE

It is well known that consonants are never written doubled in the Kharoṣṭhī script, and the question arises whether, when reading inscriptions in that script, a single consonant may be regarded at times as meaning that consonant doubled. In a note published in this Journal for 1913, p. 141, Sir G. Grierson has put forward the view—"I would suggest that a consideration of the modern vernaculars of the north-west will show that the assumption that this restoration [i.e. reading a single consonant as doubled] is required is probably wrong, and that the dialect in which these Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are written pronounced these consonants as single, not as double, letters." He has supported his suggestion with the fact that the languages of the north-west, which he

¹ p. 904.

has named the modern Paisāca languages, have generally substituted a single consonant in the place of the old doubled consonant.

This involves the question, whether the modern avoidance of double consonants prevailed also some seventeen to nineteen centuries ago in the north-west—a view which may well be doubted, considering what radical and continual changes have taken place there during those centuries: but I will confine myself simply to the consideration of the Kharoṣṭhī script.

It is well known that the Kharoṣṭhī script does not distinguish between *a* and *ā*, *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, that is, since a long vowel is equivalent to a short one doubled, (one may say) it did not distinguish between the single and the doubled vowel. We cannot suppose the language had no such long vowels, and Sir G. Grierson, in putting forward his suggestion regarding the consonants, does not (and would not, I imagine) apply it to the vowels nor contend that we must never read those vowels long. There would be nothing strange, therefore, if Kharoṣṭhī treated consonants in the same way. The question then comes to this: do the vowel-signs mean sometimes short vowels and sometimes long, and do the consonants mean sometimes single and sometimes doubled consonants? This question can probably be only decided by discovering verses written in Kharoṣṭhī. I am not aware whether verses have been discovered elsewhere, but have pointed out in my article on this inscription (EI. xi, 218) that the passage in line 3—

aviya-nabagra paryata-śava-bhavagra yo adra-amtara-
amḍa-jo jalayuga śaphatiga arupyata

appears to consist of ślokas and probably ran thus originally—

. . . ariya-napako paryatta-śāva-bhāvako
yo addra-jo antara-jo aṇḍa-jo [ca] jalāyuko
śapphattiko arūpyattā.

If this view be tenable, the metre shows that the first *a* in *bharagra* must be read long and the second *a* in *jalayuga*, and that the third syllable in *arupyata* must be long. As *arupyata* can hardly be anything else than the Prakrit *arūpyattā*, it follows that the single *t* must have been read as doubled.

This seems fair evidence that vowels were to be read long and single consonants as doubled where they would have been written so if the script had provided such distinctions. The language therefore had doubled consonants, and had not reduced its doubled consonants to single consonants as in the modern languages referred to by Sir G. Grierson; but the script did not provide characters for doubled consonants.

F. E. PARGITER.

INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE: TWO CORRECTIONS

Two corrections should be made in my reading of the inscription on the Wardak vase (EI. xi, 202; JRAS. 1912, p. 1060).

Professor Konow has pointed out to me that the sentence in line 2, which I read as *śoca me bhuya*, should be *yo ca me bhuya*, which was an ordinary expression. It is the relative clause to the following words: *natigra-midra-sambhatigrana*. All my remarks on my erroneous reading must therefore be modified, and this correction removes the grammatical irregularity which marked the word *śoca*.

The other correction concerns the word that I read as *asamśrana* or *asamryana* in line 4. The third letter, if regarded as containing *ś*, should be *rś*, and not *śr* as I took it by oversight. The reading *asamśrana* is therefore erroneous and must be cancelled. The word must be read as *asamrśana* or *asamryana*, and as both are plainly impossible, Dr. Thomas' suggestion, *ācāryāṇa*, is the only probable emendation.

F. E. PARGITER.

NASA = LINTEL

The meaning of the Sanskrit word *nāsā* has been misunderstood in dictionaries published in Europe. The following are the authorities which I have consulted:—

Petersburg Dictionary, and smaller ditto: “Ein nasenartig hervorstehendes Holz über einer Thür.”

Monier-Williams: “A piece of wood projecting like a nose over a door.”

Apte: “The upper timber of a door.”

Amarakōśa, II, ii, 13: “*nāsā dārūparisthitam.*”

Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 1008: “*nāsōrdhavadāruṇi.*”

Mēdinī: “*dvārōrdhavadāruṇi.*”

A translation of the Amarakōśa into seven modern Indian languages, made by paṇḍits for Colebrooke, of which I have a copy, gives the following translations of *nāsā*:—

“Kāshmīrī: चौकठपथक न्य चिकनि, the meaning of which I cannot certainly restore. The copyist has probably blundered. It looks like *caukathā pēṭhakanicū kūñū*, the stone over a door-frame, but in Kashmir it would certainly be of wood. It is probably a literal translation of the Panjābī.

“Panjābī: *astambh-kē* (? *dē*) *upar-dā patthar*, the stone of the top of the (side)-posts.

“Hindī: *caukath-kē upar kā patthar*, the stone of the top of the door-frame.

“Pārvatī Bhāṣā: *saghān* (? Naipali *sañār*, a lintel).

“Maithilī: *dēhar, upar-kā kāṭh*, the wood of the top of a doorway.

“Bengali: *jhamkāṭ, kapāli*, both meaning ‘lintel’.

“Oṛiyā: *dvāra upara kāṭha*, the wood over a doorway.”

The Śabdakalpadrūma gives “*dvārōparisthitadāru: jhānkāṭh iti kapāli iti ca bhāṣā*”.

The Vācaspatya gives “*dvārōparisthitakāṣṭhe, ‘jhānkāṭh, ‘kapāli’ khyātē*”.

I have quoted these Indian works at length in order to show that the connexion with *nāsā*, a nose, asserted by Böhtlingk and Roth and, following them, by Monier Williams, has, so far as I can ascertain, no native authority. In fact, the alleged resemblance to a nose is founded on a mistaken etymology on the part of these eminent scholars. Apte gives the correct meaning. The word means "lintel" and nothing more.

If the word has nothing to do with *nāsā*, a nose, it is necessary to attempt to ascertain its real derivation.

In Kāshmīrī there is a tendency to retain an original *ny* even in tadbhave words, as in *nyāyukh*, quarrelsome (from *nyāyaka*-); *nyāsuth*, depositing (from *nyāsatva*). There is also the Kāshmīrī *nyāy*, a quarrel; *nyās*, a deposit. In Paisācī Prakrit these two words would be written *ñāya*- and *ñāsa*-, and in Kāshmīrī the pronunciation of *ny* is the same as that of *ñ*. When medial the same sound is written *ñ*, as in *dāñē* (*dhānya*-), paddy.

In Kāshmīrī, the Sanskrit *nāsā*, a lintel, appears under the form *nyās*. In the slips for the Kāshmīrī dictionary on which I am at present engaged, this word is explained as follows by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Mukunda Rāma of Śrīnagar—*nyās: nāsā-dāru: gr̥habhittiṣu dvārōpari yad dūrgham dāru tiryag upanyasya yōjyatē tad-vācakō 'yañ śabdō vijñēyah*. Here, again, the meaning is "lintel", and it is explained as a beam fixed (*upanyasya yōjyatē*) across (*tiryak*) the top of a door. It appears probable, therefore, that the Sanskrit *nāsā*, a lintel, is derived from *nī* + *√as*, and means the beam "deposited" over the door. *Nāsā* is therefore a Prakritism, being borrowed by Sanskrit from Prakrit when its original meaning had been forgotten.

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CAMBERLEY.

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THE BENGALI PASSIVE

As I have inflicted some tentative speculations on the nature of the Bengali passive on readers of this Journal, may I be allowed to supplement them by what seems to me a complete analysis of the construction, kindly supplied to me by my friend Mr. Vireśvar Sen, whose writings on Bengali grammar are well known to those who have studied the admirable Journal of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat and other such publications?

The difficulty is briefly this. Some Bengali grammars by Englishmen say that the true construction of the passive is *āmāke mārā yāy*; others give it as *āmi mārā yāi*. These may be roughly translated respectively as (1) "to me a beating goes" and (2) "I go beaten". With this brief explanation, I transcribe Mr. Sen's account of the matter:—

"*Āmāke mārā yāy* is a rather unusual expression. It is, however, possible to construct a sentence in which this expression can rightly be used. Thus, *tumi yekhāne dārāiyā ācha, se khān haite guli karile āmāke mārā yāy*, i.e. 'if you fire a bullet from where you are standing, I may be hit'. Or again, if a child is given a stick, and asks 'what persons can be beaten with this?' you may reply *tomār chōṭa bhāike mārā yāy, āmāke mārā yāy, ār yata lok āche sakal-kē-i mārā yāy*, i.e. 'your little brother can be beaten with it, and I can be beaten with it, and anyone present can be beaten with it'. But note that the verb, though translated by the passive, is not morphologically in the passive voice. *Mārā* is here the gerundial infinitive governing *āmāke*, and is the nominative of the active verb *yāy*. The literal meaning in English is 'a beating me may be effected'. The true passive is *āmi mārā yāi*. Grammarians have been misled by the fact that in Bengali the form *mārā* is both past participle and gerundial infinitive. In Bengali,

as in English, when an active verb is turned into a passive one, the accusative becomes the subject, and the subject becomes instrumental. Thus, *se āmāke dekhibe*, 'he will see me,' becomes in the passive *āmi tāhā dvārā dr̥ṣṭa haiba*, 'I shall be seen by him.' Whenever and wherever the verb *yāy* has the gerundial infinitive of any verb for its nominative (e.g. *mārā yāy*, *khāwā yāy*, *dekhā yāy*, etc.), *yāy* has always the force of *yāite pāre*, i.e. a conditional force. *Āmāke mārā yāy*, therefore, would more commonly be expressed as *āmi mārā yāite pāri*. That the word *mārā* in the phrase *āmāke mārā yāy* is a verbal noun can also be demonstrated by the following test: All purely Bengali past participles, such as *dekhā*, *khāwā*, *karā*, etc., can be replaced by the equivalent Sanskrit past participles *dr̥ṣṭa*, *bhaksita*, *kṛta*, etc. If *mārā* in the expression *āmāke mārā yāy* were a past participle, i.e. if the expression were truly passive in form, we ought to be able to substitute the corresponding Sanskrit past participle for *mārā*. *Māraṇ* means 'to kill', 'to beat', 'to hit', or in Sanskrit, *ni-han*, *prahr̥*, or *ā-han*. But the expressions *āmāke nihata hay*, *āmāke prahr̥ta hay*, *āmāke āhata hay* are meaningless in Bengali. Whereas the expressions *āmi nihata hai*, *āmi prahr̥ta hai*, *āmi āhata hai* are quite good Bengali.

"I may say, in passing, that though *mārā yāwā* means literally 'to be slain', in Western Bengal (including Calcutta) it has come to mean simply 'to die'. Thus, *tinī jvare mārā giyāchen*, 'he has died of fever.'"

As a matter of fact, the passive is rarely used in Bengali, and owing to the fact that the nominative and accusative have the same form in the names of inanimate objects, it is impossible in most cases to tell which construction is intended. But the last sentence cited by Mr. Sen adds a third example to the two I had previously come across in reading, namely, *ei śakti nā thākile anek granthakār mārā yāiten*, and *tāhār pitā*

yuddhe mārā yān. It remains, therefore, for those who hold that *āmāke mārā yāy* is the correct construction to give examples from their reading. It is not a matter of much practical importance, except for people who have to answer grammar papers, but it may serve as another instance of the fact that foreign students may sometimes call attention to a construction whose nature may have escaped the notice of natives from sheer familiarity of use.

J. D. A.

ACCENT IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

At the risk of seeming importunate and presumptuous, may I add a brief postscript to some recent notes on Bengali accentuation? My thesis was that Bengali, possessing an Indo-European vocabulary similar to that of other languages of Northern India, has nevertheless a characteristic phrasal *accent tonique* which so dominates over word-stress as to make it almost inaudible. I suggested that this vocal peculiarity might be an inheritance from the language spoken by the bulk of the people in Bengal in pre-Hindu days. It differs from the French tonic accent in being initial and not final, in following and not preceding a pause or cæsure. It might therefore be a survival of the anacrusis accent necessary for the enunciation of the long agglutinative verbs in the Bodo languages still used in North-Eastern Bengal. It might, on the other hand, be descended from some Dravidian habit of speech, and might thus give some support to the ethnologists in their conclusion, based on physical characteristics, that the Bengalis are a "Mongolo-Dravidian" type of humanity. Anthropologists rightly attach little importance to language (meaning vocabulary) as a test of race. But a foreign tone of voice is less easily borrowed than foreign words.

Among English-speaking peoples, for instance, we can trace a speaker's habitat by what we call his "accent", and a "brogue" will show that a man is either an Irishman by descent or has spent his life among Irishmen. Put thus, the case seems too obvious to be worth detailed examination. But the aboriginal elements in Bengali are so few and faint that the Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian features of the language have not been commonly recognized, even by indigenous scholars (I resist a temptation to say "more especially by indigenous scholars").

This being so, I may be pardoned for saying, with a sense of some relief and satisfaction, that Mr. R. W. Frazer has been so good as to tell me that his friend Rao Sāhib Rāma Mūrti has been working at the accentuation of Dravidian languages, and has come to the interesting conclusion that these languages possess what seems to be an initial, or anacrusis accent. The Rao Sāhib does not say that this accent is a phrasal accent, perhaps because he has been studying the pronunciation of separate words, which of course carry a phrasal accent when said alone.

The following quotations from Mr. Frazer's letter will, I hope, interest students of accentuation:—

"In his *Memorandum on Modern Telugu*, published at Madras in January, 1913, Rao Sāhib Rāma Mūrti refers to the well-known law of vocalic harmony in Telugu, and gives examples of how a final vowel has assimilated to itself every vowel in the word *except the first, which remains unaltered because it has the stress*." In the Rao Sāhib's own words, "the shifting of the stress towards the beginning of a word has affected not only the pronunciation of a word but the forms of words."

Further, Mr. Frazer quotes from Pope's standard Tamil Grammar (p. 18): "Tamil scarcely admits of accent [stress?] upon individual syllables. . . . The root syllable will,

however, be distinguished by something akin to accent.”¹ May I suggest that this last sentence may show that Dr. Pope felt that the initial accent he heard was not a stress-accent, but an accent of pitch, or rather that rise of pitch was more predominantly audible than the (possibly) accompanying stress. One difficulty of discussing accentuation is that we are apt to assume that the dominant audible quality of a syllable is its sole quality. In Bengali, for instance, we are tempted to say that the word-stress is faint or non-existent, and hence those who can hear the word-stress in spite of the dominant initial rise of pitch are tempted to assert (and have, indeed, asserted) that stress is as marked a feature of pronunciation in Bengali as in any other language. Exactly the same thing has been said of French accentuation by authorities so distinguished as M. Paul Passy. Perhaps the point to bear in mind is the fact (if it be a fact, as I suppose) that in every language the three qualities of length, pitch, and stress are existent and audible, but that in any given language one (or even two) of these qualities may be *dominantly* audible. Perhaps metre may be a good test to show which is the dominant quality. Where stress is dominant, you seem to get a prosody of recurrent stresses without any (necessarily) fixed number of syllables. English verse is a good example of this. Where pitch is dominant you find a cæsure marked by a high-pitched syllable preceding or following the cæsure, the remaining syllables (fixed in number) being more or less atonic. As for quantitative verse in the modern languages of India, I can only say that I have consulted friends who know languages in which quantitative verse is used, but am not yet sure how quantity is made audible in *spoken* or recited verse. In verse that is chanted (and most verse

¹ I think most Bengali students will admit that Dr. Pope's statement is equally true of Bengali.

is chanted in India) the feat is obviously easy. But I have not yet been able to discover whether the quantity audible in quantitative verse is a quality audible in prose. In stress-verse and pitch-verse (if I may be allowed to coin these convenient terms) the poet uses, and perhaps exaggerates, what is quite audible in current prose. I have not yet learned whether, in languages which still have a quantitative versification, quantity is a dominant audible quality in spoken prose, or whether it is an added quality imposed on verse by chanting it or otherwise altering the pronunciation from that of everyday speech.

I hope readers of this note will believe that I make these rather crude suggestions very diffidently, not as statements of fact, but merely with the wish of drawing attention to what in more competent hands may prove a fruitful subject of study.

J. D. A.

EARLY USE OF PAPER IN INDIA

The use of paper in India was introduced by the Muhammadans after the twelfth century A.D., according to Bühler (*Indian Paleography*, § 37 ff.). In two copies, however, of an ancient Sanskrit text, the MSS. of which are ascribed to not later than the eighth or ninth century A.D., in the Stein Collection from Central Asia and in a Nepalese version of the same in the Hodgson Collection in the Society's library (No. 75), there occurs in the enumeration of materials upon which the text should be written the word *kāyagate*, which Dr. Hoernle translated as "paper", in the belief that "it is clearly identical with the Arabic word *kāghadh*, or, as it is pronounced in India, *kāghaz* (Ūrdu) or *kāgad* (Hindī)" (JRAS. 1911, 476). Moreover, in an Uigur version of the same text (the *Sitātapatra Dhāraṇī*), Dr. F. W. K. Müller came

independently to the same conclusion (*Uigurica*, ii, 1911, p. 70). On referring to the version of this Dhāraṇī in the Tibetan (into which the translations from the Sanskrit are habitually made with scrupulous fidelity) I find that the word for "paper" does not occur at all, and that the Sanskrit *kāyagate* has clearly another meaning, namely, to attach the spell "to the body". Dr. Hoernle, to whom I communicated my observation, has admitted that the reading of "paper" is a mistake, and he has suggested that I should send this note. The word *kalka* also, translated as "paste", is shown by the Tibetan to be *valkā*, a tree-bark, as indeed Dr. Hoernle suggested in his article that *valka* might be the proper form; whilst "committed it to memory" should be "hangs it on his neck (or throat)". The Sanskrit lines in question in the "gigantic roll", as given by Dr. Hoernle, are:

bhūja-patre vā vastra vā.

kalke vā kāyagate vā kaṇṭhagate vā likhitrā dhārāyeṣyate.

The Tibetan translation is:

gro-ga am, ras sam, śin-śun la
i.e. birch-bark or cloth or tree-"valkam" upon
(or bark)

bris-te

having written

lus sam ngul-du btags sam klog-par-byed na
body or neck on fixes or causes to be read if.

which reads:

"having written [the spell] on birch-bark or cloth or tree-*valkam*-bark, if one fixes (or hangs) [it] on the body or on the neck, or causes it to be read," etc.

This is another instance of the value of the Tibetan for interpreting and correcting ambiguous points in the Sanskrit (as well as the Pāli) texts.

L. A. WADDELL.

DATE OF THE BHARAUT STUPA SCULPTURES

As the magnificent gallery of ancient sculptures upon the Bharaut Stūpa railings and pillars fortunately possesses the unique feature of bearing descriptive labels incised on the stones, it affords an invaluable criterion for determining the chronology of early Indian art, the growth of religious legends, Buddhist and Brahminical, and the important historical questions associated therewith. It is therefore desirable to fix the date of these authentic ancient documents as precisely as possible.

The generally accepted date amongst historiographers, namely "the second or first century B.C.",¹ is based upon the inscription on the eastern gateway. This inscription states that "During the reign of the Śūṅgas . . . Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti caused [this] gateway to be made and the stonework arose".² As the Śūṅga dynasty is usually assigned to about 184-72 B.C.³ the above-noted date is thus arrived at.

But, as I have shown, the eastern gateway was certainly not the main entrance, and indeed, from the location elsewhere of the inscribed images of the four guardian gods of the Quarters, this eastern gateway was probably not a part of the original investing structure at all.⁴ The main gateway was the southern, at which I found were collected three out of the four great guardians, namely, those of the south, east, and west; and over the southern was carved a miniature replica of the stūpa. This position for the main entrance is explained by the topography of the site with reference to the old road and the adjoining stream-bed. The

¹ Dr. Fleet, *Imp. Gaz. India*, ii, 46, 1908; Dr. Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.*, x, pp. 118 ff.; Dr. Hultzsch, *IA.*, 1892, 225.

² Dr. Hultzsch, *loc. cit.*, 227.

³ V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. Ind.*, 1908, 186-92; Hoernle & Stark, *Hist. India*, 1909, 41.

⁴ My article on "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult" in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1912, reprint, pp. 34-5.

second gate was on the north with the northern guardian "Kupiro", i.e. Kubera, in charge. Such an allocation of these four guardians into two groups is the invariable rule in Buddhist buildings only where two gateways exist. It is thus almost certain that the eastern (also western) gateway was a later addition to the stūpa-enclosure.

In the light of this important new structural evidence it seems to me desirable that the presumed date for the Bharaut sculptures be revised, and the Śūṅga inscription on the eastern gateway kept distinct from the inscriptions on the rest of the railing, which apparently preceded it. All the more so is this desirable as expert palæographic opinion is clearly against the later date (see below).

The chronological evidence of the "Four Great Guardian Kings" alone would, I find, presume a date within the Mauryan period; for the very archaic form of their titles and attributes at Bharaut disclose, as I have shown, a stage of evolution long anterior to that in which we find them in the Pāli redactions, not only of the Jātakas but of the canonical Pāli books.¹

Palæographic experts are practically unanimous in ascribing the majority of the Bharaut inscriptions to the older Mauryan era of Asoka's own period, that is the third century B.C., and thus support the original opinion of the discoverer of the stūpa, General (Sir A.) Cunningham. The latter wrote in his classic *Stūpa of Bharhut* (p. 15), "the absolute identity of the form of the Bharhut characters with those of the Asoka period is proof sufficient that they belong to the same age."² Professor Bühler records that "the majority of the inscriptions on the Bharaut Stūpa" belong to "*the older Maurya* alphabet

¹ See my article above cited, pp. 36 ff.

² Later in 1883 General Cunningham authorized Dr. J. Anderson in his *Catalogue of Antiquities in the India Museum* (p. 6) to state the date as 150 B.C.; but in this he was manifestly influenced by the inscription on the eastern gateway.

of the Asoka edicts".¹ M. Senart writes: "The ancient inscriptions of the Bharhut Stūpa are perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, of a surety not much later."²

No doubt the complete decoration of the entire railing of such a huge monument, by the piety of wealthy devotees, must have extended over several generations; and some of the rails probably were contributed within the Śunga period. This circumstance, however, does not lower the age of the great bulk of the rest.

The more trustworthy evidence thus, in the absence of dated inscriptions, points to the bulk of the Bharaut inscribed sculptures dating to the early Mauryan period of about Asoka's own time, and so takes us back to General Cunningham's original estimate³ that they "are certainly not later than B.C. 200", or, as we may put it more positively, that they belong to the third century B.C.

Of the chronological inferences based upon these sculptures which now require readjustment accordingly, an important one is the initial date for the Gandhara school of Buddhist art. The date for this, as inferred from the evidence of the Bharaut sculptures, depends, as I have set forth in the *Journal* (1913, pp. 945 ff.), mainly on the revolutionary change that was effected in representing Buddha's personality between the date of the Bharaut sculptures and the rise of the Gandharan series. Such a radical change, accompanied also by an extensive development of the theory of divine Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, postulated at the very least one century.

This antedating now of the estimated age of the Bharaut sculptures, by one or one and a half centuries, admits of the initial date of the "Greco-Buddhist" sculptures being possibly put back from the first

¹ *Indian Paleography*, § 15. 2. Cf. English translation by Dr. Fleet in *IA.*, p. 32.

² "Inscriptions of Piyadasi," translated by Sir G. A. Grierson, *IA.*, 1892, 173.

³ *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 15.

century A.D. to the first century B.C., and with it the probable epoch of Kaniska, whose art I have suggested is related to the early or, what I would call, proto-Gandharan. Otherwise, the evidence I have there adduced and the conclusions thereon remain undisturbed. The only point perhaps requiring emendation is that the expression "Gandhara art" in the references on pp. 947 and 948 to the style and motive as being "incompatible with a date before the Christian era" should be read as "*mature Gandhara art*".

L. A. WADDELL.

A DICTIONARY OF CENTRAL PAHARI

The late Pandit Ganga Dat Upreti, deputy collector in Kumaun, was an enthusiastic worker in the study of the local language and ethnography. At the time of his death he was engaged on the compilation of a dictionary of words and expressions of the Pahārī language used in the Kumaun division. The preliminary work was not completed. Words beginning with the vowels and five consonants have been faired, but it is clear that the rest of the work would require revision before fairing out for publication. The bundles of slips for the other letters are incomplete, and the papers include a number of lists of words not included in the slips. No scholar is available for the comparison of these lists with the words in the booklets and for the final revision which is required. The Government of the United Provinces, which has been subsidizing Pandit Ganga Dat, has therefore decided that the whole collection shall be deposited in the University Library at Allahabad, where the work will be available for future students, and it may be hoped that some residents of Kumaun may in time be forthcoming who will take up the work and complete it.

R. BURN.

THE COINAGE OF HUSAIN BAIKARA

Mr. Longworth Dames, in his note on the "Coinage of Husain Baikara", p. 1048 of our Journal for October last, relies upon what he supposes to be the translation of a certain passage in Bābur's Memoirs by William Erskine. The probability is that it is the work of a less careful scholar, for it falls within the limit of Leyden's share in the translation of the Memoirs, as defined in a note to p. 195 of the volume. But whether Erskine's or Leyden's, it does not give the exact import of Bābur's words, either in the original Turkī or in the Persian rendering. The phrase "band of young soldiers" is in the Turkī *chuhāra jūrgā* and in the Persian *jūrgā-i-chuhārāhā*. This means "the troupe of pages" and is translated by Pavet de Courteille by "le corps des pages". Nor is it quite correct to translate "He did good service in the Mīrzā's expeditions". The Persian, from which Leyden was translating, has not the adjective "good". It merely says Bihbūd had served (*khidmat kardā*) in Husain Baiqara's forays (*qazzāqīha*), and that Husain noticing this rewarded him by making him a Beg, etc. Bābur is here referring to Husain Baiqara's early days, when he was, like the young Bābur, a wanderer and a freebooter, and was leading a life of Bohemianism and rapine. Nor, as far as I can make out, does the Turkī describe the service as good. It says that there was *khidmat*, and the Haidarabadī seems to say that the service was pleasing to Husain.

Whether Bābur's story or insinuation was true or not I cannot say, but I think there can be no doubt that, in Dr. Codrington's phrase, Bābur made it by way of writing something nasty about Husain. Bābur did not like Husain, though he married a connexion of his, and he was jealous of the Mīrzā's renown. He endeavours to show, and perhaps succeeds in showing, that his own

exploit in taking Samarkand was much more glorious than Husain's capture of Herat. But still Bābur was a contemporary, and his story may be true. Husain Baiqara, though a great warrior, and as great a patron of literature and art as Lorenzo de Medici, was a dissolute man and in no way morally superior to his contemporaries. He divorced his first and chief wife, though she was of high rank and the mother of his eldest son, for no other reason, apparently, than that she objected to his infidelities. If he showed extravagant admiration for youth and beauty he did no more than did Hadrian and other distinguished Roman emperors, and he might be countenanced by the great example of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

H. BEVERIDGE.

NOTE ON THE WORD FOR “WATER” IN TIBETO-BURMAN DIALECTS

Some years ago when classifying the monosyllabic bases of the Meithei vocabulary I found a group of words which had *i* as their common base. *I-chau* = water big = deluge, *i-chel* = water run = current, *i-nil* = water cloud = steam, *i-ram* = watercourse, *i-rong* = waters meet, *i-ru* = water dip = to bathe, and so on. From these forms I concluded that *i* = water, and that in the word *i-sing* = water, the same base was present. *Sing* I took to be identical with the plural suffix *sing*, as meaning “mass”. The base *i* in Meithei has other meanings. It means “thatch”. In cognate dialects, e.g. Thado, the word for “thatch” is *bi*. It means “to write”, and beyond doubt is derived from the root *likh*, cf. Meithei *lai-rik* = document, Thado *lai-li* = document. It also means “blood”, and in that sense is *thi* in Thado. It occurs in the Royal vocabulary as meaning “to be ill”. Were *i* used as meaning “water”, without the suffix *sing*, confusion might well arise. Whether purposive in origin or not—and it is not easy

to imagine how it could be purposive of set orderly deliberation—the suffix *sing* certainly serves, perhaps it survives because it serves, a useful end in distinguishing the base for "water" from other common bases of similar sound. "Thread" in Meithei is *lang*; cotton in general, a mass of threads, is *la-sing*, which may be taken as *lang-sing*, softened to *la-sing*. Having thus to my satisfaction settled the value of each of the two syllables in this word *i-sing*, I proceeded to derive the base *i* immediately from the form *ti*, which appeared to be related to the form *tui*, which occurs in many of the dialects spoken in and near Manipur. So far the path of my inquiries had run smoothly enough. I was confronted with the view that all this was beside the mark, that the Meithei word *i-sing* was closely connected with the Kachin word *n'sin*. In Kachin, according to Hertz, *n'sin* is water for household use or consumption, *kha* is all water, river or stream, and there is a word *hpun* synonymous with the *kha*, but used only in couplets as *hpun-lun* = hot water. *Lum* is used in Meithei in the sense "to boil water" and *hpōn* means "rain" in Shan, so that we have a couplet each element of which comes from a different origin unless *lum* in Meithei is annexed from Shan. These specialized words are in accord with a well-known tendency in Tibeto-Burman languages. In vol. iii, pt. i, p. 429, of the Report of the Linguistic Survey I find the statement that "According to Jaeschke this word (*ti* = water) also occurs as a loan-word in Tibetan. If it is not originally an Indo-Chinese word it might perhaps be compared with Munda *dak'*, Khmer *dik*, etc., water". *Ti* as a form intermediate between *tui* and *i* seemed essential to the pedigree I proposed. I have therefore endeavoured to ascertain from the vocabularies given in the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India and from such other sources as are immediately available to me what forms the word for "water" assumes in different

groups. The words for "rain", "river", etc., where available, have also been compared. In Chinese, so I am informed, the word for "water" is *sui*. The change from *s* to *t* is of frequent occurrence in these groups.¹

To the group which uses the form *tui* belong Khongzai, Thado (*ti* is also used, a notable fact), Sairang, Kuki of Cachar, Siyin, Tipura, Lushei, Banjogi (also *ti*), Pankhu, Hallam, Langrong, Aimol, Chiru, Kolren, Kom, Purum, Taungtha, Chinbok, Yawdwin, Sho, Khami, and Mru. Maram has *athui*. Empeo, Kabui, and Khoirao have *dowi* or *dui*. Phadang has *tundui*, Bodo and Rangkhoh have *dui*. Liyang has *tadui*. Mech and Arung have *doi*. Yintale has *tai*. Allowance, often considerable allowance, must be made for the idiosyncrasies of those who have recorded these forms of speech, but all these forms must be classed together as identical. From the change of *t* to *s* to *ch* or *z* or *j* we get *achui* in Miklai. The Maring form *yui* comes into this group. Gurung and Murmi use *kui*, where the hardening of the initial consonant is notable and is paralleled by cases below.

Between *sui* in Chinese and *tui* are intermediate forms *atsu* in Khari and Ao Mongsen, *atso* in Mahe, *ahsu* in Ako, *dzu* in Angami and Rengma. From these forms we pass to *etchhu* in Lhota. *Kantsū* means "rain" in Yintale. Akha or Kaw has a form *isu*, which I discuss later under the *i* group. *Chhu* is found in Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Central Tibetan, Spiti, Kagate, Sharpa, Danjongka, and Lhoke. Yakha has *mangchuwa*. In Limbu this becomes *chua* or in Lambichhong and Chhingtang *chuwa*. In Meithei we get the root *chu* in *nong chuba*, to rain. In Thado and Siyin *yu* means "to rain". Lushei has *ru* in this sense. Lakher has *shu*. Mano has *chu*. Maru has *ku*. The hardening of the initial consonant is conspicuous in a group of Himalayan dialects. *Ku* is the form in Thulung, Chourasya, Khaling, and Dumi. Kulung has

¹ See JRAS., April, 1913, p. 322.

kau, which may be due to an individual recorder's idiosyncrasy. In Pwun or Hpon we get *hko*,¹ and in Menghwa Lolo *gho*, which may both come into this group. In Aka the initial seems to be aspirated, but I have noticed the weakness of initial aspirates elsewhere when recording Thado, so that one recorder may observe an aspirate which passes unnoticed by another. As will be seen later, there is a group which uses *wa* as its form. Is it, *wa*, a couplet, does it mean "water" independently, or is it a suffix which by loss of the base to which it was originally fastened, has acquired the significance of the whole compound? The base *ku* appears in the Thami word *pangku*, in Bahing *pwaku*, in Rai *kanku*, in Pahi *lukhu*, and in Newari *lukhu*. Lihsaw has a word *lo-ku-la*² = a stream, which may contain the same base. To the *chhu* group belong forms such as Kezhama *ēju*, Namsang *jo*, Lohorong *yowa*, where *wa* reappears, Ao *tza*, and Sopvoma *uza*. Anal has *du*, Maram *adu*, Tengsa and Dopdor *tu*, and Karen, *ni to*. In all these forms we have bases related to *dui* or *tui*, while Meithei has *turen* = river or great water, cf. Thado *tuilen* = river.

In two of the Kuki dialects, Thado and Banjogi, which use *tui* for water, the form *ti* is also found. *Ti* is in use in Toto, Chepang, Vayu, Kanawri, Kanashi, Manchat, Chamba Lahuli, Byangsi, Janggali, Miju Mishmi, Ruga Garo, Konch, Banpara, Chang, Mutonia, Lai, and Shonshe. It is found in two Karen dialects, Sinhkaw Mepauk and Taungthu. "Rain" in Karen, *ni* is *ketsi*. Bunan has *soti*. Magar, Lalung, Dimasa, Rengma (where one authority gives *dzu*). Chairel and Hiroi Langang have *di*. Atong Garo has *tai*. In Mulung and Sima we have *si*. Deuri Chutiya has *ji*. Chulikata Mishmi has *maji*. In the Kehena dialect of Angami we find *dji*, while Angami has

¹ As well as *chi*.

² Meithei has *lok* = a ravine with water in it. Lolo has *lu-ke* = river. Morso has *loke*.

dzu. The form *chi* is found in Dhimal, Garo Abeng, and in Standard Garo, in Garo of Jalpaiguri, in Koch, and in Hpon. Digaru Mishmi has it in the guise of *machi*, which in Hati-gurya becomes *achi*. To Mano belongs the distinction of a word *chi-ku-tso*, a triplet, each element of which, as I believe, in some other Indo-Chinese dialect has independently the meaning of "water".

The elision of the initial consonant in the *ti* form gives *i*, which does not occur so far as I know as an independent form anywhere. I have exhibited it in compounds in Meithei, where it has the meaning "water". I may add another remarkable example. Colonel Shakespear, C.I.E., D.B.O., Political Agent in Manipur, whose diligent and accurate investigations into the religion and folklore, the institutions and customs of the tribes inhabiting Manipur and the Lushei Hills, have made such important additions to our knowledge of a singularly interesting region, states that the Deity—I cannot quite assent to the term Goddess—of water is designated *Lai-i-bi*. *Lai* is a well-known base meaning "deity". *Bi* is not only the common magnitive and honorific suffix in Kuki dialects, but in Meithei, perhaps as a result of Indo-Aryan influence, is now used as a feminine suffix, while *ba* is the masculine suffix. The remaining syllable *i* means "water". We have *isu* in Akha, which I regard as a couplet of the order where each element has the same meaning (see L.S.R., vol. ii, p. 70 sq., for an interesting and clear discussion of couplets and compounds). Lisu has *ima*=river. Muhsö has a form *ika*, where again I think we have a couplet.¹ *Ka* or *kha* is the Kachin for water in general. E. Daffa has *isshi*, recorded as *esi* in Daffa, while Miri has *isi*. I regard these forms as related to the *i* base.

Kha is the general word in Kachin for "water". Kwi or Lahu Hsi has *aka*. Mu-Hsö or Lahu have *yika*. *Yi* or *ye*, as will be seen later, forms a group by itself.

¹ For "water" it has *i-gura* and *a-di-a*.

Intermediate forms are found in Thaksya, which has *kya*, in Musu, which has *gye*, in Lashi and Yachumi, which have *kye*. Thukumi has *kih*. We get *ye* in Taungyo, *yigya* in Lisaw, *nyi-ya* in Libsaw, and *yeang* in Tahleng, while it has coalesced with the suffix in Tamlu, which has *yong*. *Kyung* = rain in Riang, while in Banyang Zayein *kyon* = rain. In Lahu the word for "rain" is *moye*, in Akha *ye*, in Muhsö¹ *maye*, and in Kwi or Lahu Hsi it is *mawye*. Burmese write the word *re*, but pronounce it *ye*. The Mikir for "rain" is *arve*. Sangpang and Khambu have *ka-wa* = water. Nachhereng has *kaawa*. In Waling and Rungchhenbung we have *cha-wa*, while Dunginali has *chah'wa*. In Bhramu we find *awa*. Rodong shortens the form to *wa*. Lambichhong has *wet*. Kadu has *we*, while Asi has *wetcham*. Danaw has *wet* and also *ri*.

In discussing the linguistic affinities of Mikir Sir Charles Lyall observes that "The words in which Tibeto-Burman languages agree most widely with one another are perhaps those for 'water' and 'village': for the former *di*, *ti*, *tui*, *dzu*, *zu*, *ji*, *chi*, and other similar forms all apparently identical with the Tibetan *chhu* and the Turki *su*, run through the whole family . . . It is somewhat surprising to find in Mikir an exception to the general rule. 'Water' is *lang* . . . Searching through the tribal vocabularies, Tangkhul Naga (a Naga Kuki form of speech) appears to have in *tara* the corresponding word to *lang* (*r* = *l* and *ta* a prefix). Nowhere else in the neighbourhood is there a trace of a similar word until we come to Burmese, where 'water' is *re* (now pronounced *ye*). At the same time it is to be observed that Mikir appears once to have had, like the Kuki Chin languages generally, the word *ti* for 'water'. This survives in the word for 'egg'—*vo-ti*—which must mean 'fowl's water' ". In a footnote Sir Charles suggests that "This seems to make it improbable as suggested on page 109 *chui* in *var-chui*

¹ Of Kangtung.

and *nim-chui* (to throw into water and to drown) is connected with the Tibetan *chhu*". For my part I think the earlier view is the correct one. In Pyen, a language spoken in Kengtung, Southern Shan States, *lāng* = water. The word in Khangoi, spoken in a Tangkhul Naga village, is *deru*, and McCulloch also gives *ka-jung-ru-ye* as = rain in that dialect. In Mulung and Sima the word for "water" is *riang*. To this group belong such forms as *ser* in Sawntung Zayein Karen, Padeng Zayein, and Banyang Zayein. In the speech of the Kawnsawng Karens of Loi Long the word is given as *ther*. At the time when the Burmese script was first introduced, doubtless the word for "water" was spoken *re* as it is now written. In obedience to internal causes and in part to the assimilation of new elements *re* came to be spoken *ye*, and we may regard the *ye* group as homogeneous with *re*. Examples of a nasalized off-glide have been given above, so that the Mikir form is paralleled by other cases.

The following curious forms may be noted: In Kusunda we have *tang*; in Rong *ung*, which looks rather like a nasalized form of *um*, the word for "water" in Khasi-Wa-Palaung dialects, which belong to the Munda-Mon-Khmer family of languages. Andro, a Loi dialect of Manipur, is recorded by McCulloch as having a form *me*, while in Sunwar we find *mak*. Maru has a form *glokke*, which may have to go into the *kye* or *ye* group.

It is now possible to find answers to the questions: (1) is *ti* a loan-word to be compared with the Munda *da'k*, the Mon *daik*, and the Khmer *dik*? (2) is *ising* to be compared with Kachin *n'sin*? The cases collected above show that *ti* is not a loan-word, that it is derived by methods which are exemplified all through this area. What the original form was, I cannot guess. Possibly it was *sui*, but all these languages are under the sway of karma, as Sir George Grierson has remarked of them. The Meithei word *ising* is surely connected with the *ti*

group. The suffix *sing* means "mass". All this is no doubt much ado about nothing, but it may help us to ascertain the lines on which the classification of these far-flung dialects may be attempted. It may even help us to disentangle the modifications which are due to constitutional inherited tendencies from those which have been brought about by contact with other groups. Some of these instances may show how "specialized" words acquire a more general significance and how, conversely, a word of general meaning may be used in a specialized sense. See Meillet, "Comment les mots changent de sens": *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. ix, pp. 1-38.

T. C. HODSON.

THE ORIGIN OF THE AHOMS¹

In the Journal of the RAS. for April, 1913, there is an article by Colonel Gurdon on "The Origin of the Āhoms". It tells of a "metal plaque". On one face were the words "Letters patent . . . A.D. 1408", on one side "Be faithful", and the place is given as "Timāsa" (which you say is identified as Chieng-Mai). There are two things in particular which are puzzling: the place and the date. In passing, I may say that a similar "plaque" was sent by the Emperor to a king of "Nanchao" marked "Nanchao, 705-805". So while the place is the place to which the plaque was sent, the date was not necessarily the date of issue.

Now, coming to your "Timāsa". Nan-chao, even while still practically independent in local affairs, certainly acknowledged the Emperor as over-lord. He also received a plaque of this kind. Now, during the time mentioned above there was a sub-kingdom down on the Cambodia River, northward including at least the

¹ This correspondence between Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Taw Sein Ko has been sent to us for publication.

Hsiphawng-Panna, and southward extending probably to Ving-Chang. Ving-Chang or Kieng Tsen may have been its capital. Westward, it included at times what was at other times a part of the "Province of Chieng-Mai". During the same time, as mentioned above, a Nan-chao king sent down to the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia two of his nephews to take over charge in his name. They took with them, among other things, a *somdeo* (*sum-loo*), as mentioned in the article. The *sum-loo* was kept in a box and taken out once a year in order that "respects" might be paid to it. In the same connexion there are, in the record, a few Shan words that I cannot make out, as they are now obsolete here. Possibly they tell of one of these "plaques". The two things seem to go together. As Nan-chao was at least nominally under China at that time, the sub-kingdom also was. What could be more natural than that the nephews should be provided with a similar "plaque"—a Mongol-Chinese recognition of their kingship?

Now, as to the *somdeo* (*sum-loo*): I can hardly think that it was a "god" or image at all, unless it was an image of the Emperor. (Were images of the Emperor ever handed round in that way?) As *sum* may be the Shan word meaning "seal" or "stamp" (to make an impression), and as *loo* (*deo*) may mean "the only", I am inclined to think that the name refers to a seal or stamp for stamping official letters. Whether it was in the form of a "cylinder" or not is not significant, neither the "diamond or some other precious stone" that may have been set in one end of it.

Again, as to the date: the Mongol dynasty of China apparently did control Chieng-Mai during the reign of Kublai Khan, but Mr. E. H. Parker states that the "Comforters" (Conciliators or Pacificators) were "withdrawn" in 1342. The date you give (1408) is sixty-six years later. If "Timāsa" meant the sub-kingdom on

the Cambodia, this date would give no trouble, but it does if Timāsa meant Chieng-Mai. What is the evidence that Timāsa was Chieng-Mai? Moreover, the date on the "plaque" given to the Nan-chao king does not indicate the date of issue. The century (705-805) included two whole reigns and part of another. But the "plaque" (Plate A) gives manifestly the date of issue (1408). This is curious, but there is something here more curious still: Could there have been a "Comforter" in Chieng-Mai after they were withdrawn, or were they withdrawn from Burma only and given "privilege leave" in Chieng-Mai for another cycle? There is something even more curious than that. Why did the prince of Chieng-Mai send the "plaque" to his kinsman a thousand miles to the northward? Did he think that his northern friend had more need of the good advice, "Be faithful," than he had himself, or did Chieng-Mai actually control the Mao kingdom (with its nominal apanage, Assam) at this time?

In Shan writings, in so far as I have been able to gather, there is no indication either of Mongol-Chinese in Chieng-Mai, or of Chieng-Mai in the Mao kingdom, at the time referred to. The whole thing is a "Chinese puzzle". Now it may be that you can solve the puzzle.

W. W. COCHRANE.

Reply

It will be convenient if I proceed to discuss your letter paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraph 1. I possess evidence to show that both the place (Timāsa) and date (A.D. 1408) are correct. As regards the Nan-chao plaque, I may remark that the date given, 705-805, i.e. covering a century, is quite unusual in Chinese official documents. As a rule, such records are dated from the particular year in which they are issued.

In the year A.D. 1406, during the reign of Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1403–25), Tonquin had become once more a dependency of the Chinese Empire, and the Shan Chief of Timāsa, which was contiguous to Tonquin, would naturally hasten to submit to Chinese suzerainty and to accept his appointment of Conciliator or Pacificator from the Chinese emperor. The date mentioned on the plaque is the “fifth year of the reign of Emperor Yung Lo”, corresponding to $1403 + 5 = \text{A.D. } 1408$.

Paragraph 2. Geographical names are somewhat loosely applied in Chinese records. States may have boundaries varying from decade to decade or from century to century, and the best-known localities are fixed upon for purposes of identification. For instance, Ving-chang or Kieng Tsen, which the Burmans call Kyaingthingyi, has been a wilderness for several decades past, while its neighbours, Kengtung and Chieng-Mai, are better known to the outside world. In the circumstances mentioned by you, I am rather inclined to identify Timāsa with your “sub-kingdom on the Cambodia River”, but I suppose the Chinese annalists fixed upon Chieng-Mai as being the most convenient geographical expression and the best-known designation.

The *somdeo* (*sum-loo*), entrusted by the Nan-chao king to his two nephews on their mission to the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia River, cannot be identified with the plaque of A.D. 1408. The date is so carefully and correctly inscribed that there can be no possible mistake about its identity. I am afraid that we must look elsewhere for the missing Nan-chao plaque.

Paragraph 3. The word *somdeo* is an Assamese corruption of the Shan word *sum-lu*, which is again a Shan corruption of the Chinese word (as pronounced in the Cantonese dialect) *sum-lok*. In Yunnanese the word is pronounced as *sin-lu*. In Chinese *sum* means “confidence”, and *lok* “a record”, so *sum-lok* signifies “a record inspiring

confidence", or, in other words, a credential or letters patent. In the Assamese form the second syllable *deo*, which is derived from the Sanskrit word *deva*, means "a god". Images of the Emperor were never handed round to be adored by the officials of the empire; but, at the time of each Chinese New Year, it was customary for all Chinese mandarins to kneel and bow down before the seals of their office, which were the token and credential of their authority and influence. Chinese official seals were kept in cylindrical cases or boxes called *Pao-ya*, which might be decorated with gems on the outside, and such boxes were wrapped up in a piece of yellow silk, yellow being the Imperial colour. According to the description given in the JRAS., p. 285, April, 1913, the *somdeo* evidently refers to the official seal which, in accordance with Chinese custom, was raised to the dignity of a fetish. It would be well if further efforts were made to trace this *somdeo* in Calcutta, where it is reported to have been sold.

Paragraph 4. The withdrawal of "Comforters" in A.D. 1342, as stated by Mr. Parker, refers to Burma only. "Comforters" were invariably indigenous chiefs or princes; and a Comforter, Conciliator, or Pacificator simply meant a "Premier Chief or Prince", who was charged with the duty of upholding Chinese suzerainty.

As stated above, I am inclined to think that Timāsa meant the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia.

Do you think that the date on the plaque given to the Nan-chao king, namely 705-805, is quite correct? According to the Chinese Annals, I-mou-sün, king of Nan-chao, defeated the Tibetans with great slaughter in A.D. 794, and for this service he received from the Emperor of China a gold seal, duly dated, as king of Nan-chao. I-mou-sün died in A.D. 808. It would be in keeping with Chinese history if your dates could be read as A.D. 795-805, which covers the single reign of I-mou-sün.

You wish to know why the prince of Chieng-Mai sent the Chinese plaque to his kinsman a thousand miles to the northward. The explanation is simple. It is stated (JRAS., p. 287, April, 1913) that the Āhoms invaded Assam in A.D. 1228, that they kept up communication with their Shan relations in Chieng-Mai after they had settled in Assam, and that they obtained the metal plaque from them. During the two centuries following the occupation of Assam the Āhoms found their position insecure, as they were menaced by the Muslim conquest of Northern India. If there was any evidence or credential to show that the Āhom Chief of Assam was under the protection of the Chinese Emperor, he would secure immunity from attack on the side of Bengal. So the plaque of A.D. 1408 must have played the part of a veritable talisman in nursing the young Āhom kingdom into maturity and strength. The historical circumstances would appear to show that, at that period, Chieng-Mai exercised control over the Mao kingdom as well as Assam. My own experience of the Burmese and Talaing Annals indicates that native historians are loath to admit the subjection of their country to foreigners, and the Shan writers do not form an exception to the rule. They will never admit that Chieng-Mai was subject to China, or that the Mao kingdom was subordinate to Chieng-Mai.

There is sufficient evidence to support the identification of Timāsa with Chieng-Mai. It is stated, in the *Huang Ch'ao Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao*, that Pa-pai-hsi-fu-kuo (or the kingdom of 800 women, one woman being in charge of each village) is situated to the south-west of the Shan state of Meng-ken, and that its ancient name is Ching-mai (Chieng-Mai). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (A.D. 1280-1368) it was frequently attacked by the Chinese. Communications were, however, difficult. Subsequently the state rendered its submission, and a "Comforter" was appointed. In the 24th year

of the reign of Hung Wu, an emperor of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1392), two "Comforters" were appointed to the state of Pa-pai-hsi-fu-kuo, namely, one to Che-na and the other to Ta-tien. In the 5th year of the reign of Yung Lo, an emperor of the same dynasty (A.D. 1408), the state remained neutral. A military contingent was demanded from it, and it sent tribute to China.

It is further stated, in *Kang-chien-ho-p'ien*, *Yü-p'i-li-tai-t'ung-chien*, and *Kang-chien-i-chih-lu*, that in the 3rd regnal year of Emperor Yung Lo (A.D. 1406) a Chinese general named Mu Ch'eng demanded the submission of Pa-pai-ta-tien, which is also called Pa-pai-hsi-fu-kuo. During the early days of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644) two "Comforters" were appointed to that state. It is mentioned in the *Yünnan T'ung Chih*, or Gazetteer of Yünnan, that in A.D. 1408 a Hsin-fu or metal plaque was granted by the Emperor to the "Comforter" of Pa-pai-ta-tien, or Timāsa.

TAW SEIN KO.

Further Letter from Mr. Cochrane

Your letter of the 28th instant gives the information I required.

There may have been a mistake in the date of the Nan-chao plaque. I am not a Chinese scholar, and had to rely entirely on the date given by Professor Parker. If such documents are customarily dated from the exact year of issue, a mistake is presumable.

That Chieng-Mai was at least nominally under the Chinese during the Mongol-Chinese dynasty there is no sufficient reason to doubt, and that state may still have recognized such overlordship at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though the Shan records here say nothing about it. That the Chinese had at least nominal control of the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia at that time there can be no doubt whatever. If the so-called

“province of Chieng-Mai” extended eastward to the Cambodia at that date, identifying Timāsa with Chieng-Mai would have been quite natural, though the Cambodia River region in particular may have been meant. Line fences were often set over, and set back again or torn down altogether, according to the power and ambition of the various squabbling Shan princes.

I did not intend to identify the Nan-chao plaque, or the one given to the nephews, with the one found in Assam; I meant merely to say that I regarded it as one of the same kind, i.e. as a “letters patent” and not as a “god”. This you show clearly to have been the case from your history of the word *somdeo*, from the Chinese *sum-lok*, corrupted in Shan into *sum-loo*, and further corrupted by the Āhoms into *som-deo*. Several words spelt here with an *l* are spelt with a *d* in Āhom (as *dao* for *liao*, a sword). The *deo* is not, therefore, to be confounded with the Sanskrit *deva*. In the Āhom and Kham-ti Shan writings of Assam a “god” is uniformly represented by the word *hpi* (or *pi*, according to taste in transcription), as it is here. If the “Comforters” were always indigenous chiefs (and Shans, over this way), it helps to account for the frisky intermeddling of Shans in Burman affairs during the Mongol-Chinese dynasty. It also helps to explain the meaning of Mr. Parker’s statement that they were “withdrawn” in 1342.

The statement (JRAS., p. 287, April, 1913) is itself a Chinese puzzle. What is meant by “The Āhoms invaded Assam in A.D. 1228”, that they “kept up communication with their Shan relations in Chieng-Mai after they had settled in Assam”, and that they “obtained the metal plaque from them”? At that time the general-in-chief (Hsö-ka-pha) of the Mao Shan king (Hsö-hkan-hpa) conquered Assam, and the same king had already conquered Chieng-Mai. He held both under tribute till he died, after a long and eventful reign. This seems to

be as certain as anything in the Shan records. If communication was kept up, it was, in the first instance, through the Mao (or Pawng) kingdom of what is now Eastern Burma. Hsö-hkan-hpa was followed on the Mao throne by weaklings. That Chieng-Mai between 1270 and 1408 may have retaliated and conquered the Northern Shans, including the Mao apanage (the Āhoms of Assam), is possible, but the Shan records here make no mention of such a pleasant social visit.

The Āhoms were menaced by the Muslim conquest of Northern India, and had several armed conflicts with the Muslims, but during that period they seem never to have received any aid from China; if they received such aid they were ungrateful, for they make no mention of it in their records. Still, I am inclined to think that the relation between the Chinese and all of the Shans from Chieng-Mai to the valley of the Brahmaputra was much closer than the latter acknowledge or than has ever been conceded. While practically independent of China, there still seems to have been a certain recognition of Chinese suzerainty. That Chinese "letters patent" was not fooling-round up there in Assam for nothing.

I happen to know a scholarly missionary (the Rev. W. Clifton Dodd, D.D.) of the American Presbyterian Mission of Northern Siam, working among the Laos. I may do well to write to him to see what light he may be able and willing to give on the whole matter. I hear that he, or one of his associates, has collected a large number of historical manuscripts.

W. W. COCHRANE.

THE MEANING OF THE WORDS 'ALA HUBBIHI IN QUR. II, 172

In the well-known verse (172) of the second chapter of the Qur'ān which enumerates the elements of piety or righteousness (الْبِرِّ), there is an expression which has

given rise to much difference of interpretation. The words are—

وَأَتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسَاكِينَ وَابْنَ
السَّبِيلِ وَالسَّائِلِينَ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ

This part of the verse is rendered by Sale—

“Who giveth money *for God's sake* unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for redemption of captives.”

Rodwell translates—

“Who *for the love of God* disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming.”

E. W. Lane (*Selections from the Kur'ān*, 1879, p. 35)—

“Who giveth money, *notwithstanding his love of it*, to relations and orphans, and to the needy and the son of the road, and to the askers and for the freeing of slaves.”

Sir W. Muir (*Selections from the Corān*, 1880, p. 4)—

“Whoso, *for the sake of God*, giveth of his wealth unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, and to those who crave an alms, and for the release of the captives.”

E. H. Palmer (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi, 1880)—

“Who gives wealth *for His love* to kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the son of the road, and beggars, and those in captivity.”

Professor Goldziher (*Vorlesungen über den Islām*, 1910, p. 17)—

“[Der an Allah und den letzten Tag glaubt . . .] und seine Habe gibt *in Liebe zu ihm* den (armen) Angehörigen, den Waisen und Dürftigen, dem Reisigen und den Bettstellern und für die Gefangenen.”

There is only one other place in the Qur'ān where the phrase occurs, viz. Sūrah lxxvi, 8 (Mecca)—

وَيُطْعَمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا

Sale renders—

“And give food to the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, *for his [i.e. God's] sake.*”

Rodwell—

“Who, *though longing for it themselves*, bestowed their food on the poor and the orphan and the bondsman.”

Palmer—

“Who give food *for His love* to the poor and the orphan and the captive.”

Muir, Lane, and Goldziher have not translated this passage.

Turning now to the indigenous commentaries, we find that Tabarī (*Tafsīr*, vol. ii, p. 54) takes the words *وَأَتَى وَأَعْطَى مَالَهُ* in Sūr. ii, 172, as equivalent to *حِينَ مَكَبَّتِهِ إِيَّاهُ وَضَبَهُ بِهِ وَشَحَّهِ عَلَيْهِ*, i.e. “who gives his property at a time when he clings strongly to it and desires to keep it”. This interpretation is supported by several traditions, all going back to Ibn. Mas‘ūd, the general form of which is that *على حُبِّهِ* means *وَأَنْتَ صَحِيحٌ شَحِيحٌ تَأْمُلُ الْعَيْشَ وَتَخْشَى الْفَقْرَ*.

Tabarī gives no alternative explanation.

¹ These words are taken from a tradition transmitted by Abū Hurairah, who says that the Prophet uttered them when consulted by a man who asked what kind of alms brought the greatest reward. The answer was: “The best alms is that which is given when thou art in sound health, desirous of holding fast thy property, fearing poverty and hoping for riches; and that thou put not off the giving until the time when thy soul has come up into thy throat, and thou sayest, ‘To such a one so much, to such another so much, and as for such a one, he has already had his share’” (i.e. the time of impending death, when the dying man makes his will): *قَالَ أَنْ تَصَدَّقَ وَأَنْتَ صَحِيحٌ شَحِيحٌ تَخْشَى الْفَقْرَ وَتَأْمُلُ الْغِنَى وَلَا تُؤَمِّلُ حَتَّى إِذَا بَلَغْتَ الْحُلُقُومَ قُلْتَ لِفُلَانٍ كَذَا وَلِفُلَانٍ كَذَا وَقَدْ كَانَ لِفُلَانٍ*—Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb az-Zakāt*, Bāb 11 (Krehl, i, p. 359; Qasṭallānī, iii, 21).

Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf*, i, 121)—

على حُبِّهِ مَعَ حُبِّ الْمَالِ وَالشَّحِّ بِهِ : كما قال ابن مسعود
(words above cited quoted) . وقيل على حُبِّ الله . وقيل على
حُبِّ الْإِيتَاءِ يريد أن يُعْطِيَهُ وَهُوَ طَيِّبُ النَّفْسِ بِإِعْطَائِهِ

Jalālain : على حُبِّهِ مَعَ حُبِّهِ لَهُ .

Baidāwī—

على حُبِّهِ اى على حب المال كما قال عم لما سُئِلَ أَيْ الصَّدَقَةِ
افضل قال (words as above cited) . وقيل الصمير لله او المصدر .

In the second place (Sūr. lxxvi, 8) Tabarī (vol. xxix, 113) explains : قوله ويطعمون الطعام على حُبِّهِ مسكينًا يقول تعالى ذكره : كان هؤلاء الأبرار يطعمون الطعام على حُبِّهِمْ إِيَّاهُ , i.e. “they distribute food in spite of their desire for it for themselves”. This explanation is supported by traditions from Mujāhid and Sulaimān b. Qais, father of Muqātil.

Zamakhsharī (ii, 1559)—

على حُبِّهِ الصمير للطعام اى مع اشتهاؤه والحاجة اليه : ونحوه
(Sūr. ii, 172, cited) . وعن الفضيل بن عياض على حُبِّ الله .

Jalālain : على حُبِّهِ اى طعام وشهوتهم له .

Baidāwī : على حُبِّهِ حب الله او الطعام او الاطعام .

Thus, while the majority of the European interpreters understand the two passages to mean that the almsgiver bestows his gifts “for the love of God”, the preponderance among Islamic expounders is in favour of the explanation that the words ‘*alà hubbihi*’ mean “in spite of his reluctance to part with his wealth”. The one exception among Europeans in Sūr. ii, 172, Lane, follows here as throughout the Commentary of the Jalālain ; all the others appear to think the interpretation of the native scholars derogatory to the dignity of the text or the spirituality of the religion. As regards Sūr. lxxvi, 8, the one translator,

Rodwell, who follows the commentaries explains that he does so because in the next verse the words "for the sake of God", *إِنَّمَا نَطَعُهُمْ لِوَجْهِ اللَّهِ*, actually occur, and it is improbable that the same sense should be conveyed by a different expression immediately before. Of the Arabic commentaries, Baidāwī alone, against his view in Sūr. ii, 172, puts first in this place the rendering *على حب الله*, and second *على حب الطعام*. Yet it seems certain that in both places the expression must be interpreted in the same way.

My object in calling attention to the matter here is to adduce a passage from a pre-Islamic poet which seems to me to decide the question which of the two interpretations should be preferred. In the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (p. 571 of my forthcoming edition) is a poem (No. lxxv) by Abū Qais b. al-Aslat, the Chief of the Aus at Yathrib vv. 16 and 17 of which run thus:—

هَلَّا سَأَلْتِ الْخَيْلَ¹ إِنَّا قَلَصْتُ مَا كَانَ إِبْطَائِي وَإِسْرَاعِي
هَلْ أَبْذُلُ الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ فِيهِمْ وَآتَى دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِي

The second verse clearly means: "Why dost thou not ask . . . whether or no I lavish my wealth, in spite of my desire to retain it, among my kin, and respond at once to the cry of him that calls for help?" Here we have the exact phrase of the Qur'ān: the speaker praises himself for his liberality to his people in time of distress and famine, when the possessor of wealth would most desire to hold it fast. The commentary of al-Anbārī makes the meaning quite plain—

أَيُّ أَبْذُلُ الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّي إِيَّاهُ وَحَاجَتِي إِلَيْهِ : وَإِنَّمَا يَرِيدُ ذَلِكَ
فِي صُعُوبَةِ الزَّمَانِ لِأَنَّ السَّنَاسَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْوَقْتُ يَشْتَحُونَ أَكْثَرُ مِمَّا
يَشْتَحُونَ فِي غَيْرِ ذَلِكَ الْوَقْتُ . وَقَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى : وَآتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى
حُبِّهِ : وَقَالَ جَلَّ ذِكْرُهُ : حَتَّى تُنْفِقُوا مِمَّا تُحِبُّونَ .

¹ الْقَوْمَ

The commentator, it will be seen, cites Sūr. ii, 172 ; and he also cites another verse in the Qur'ān, iii, 86, the full text of which is—

لَنْ تَنَالُوا الْبِرَّ حَتَّى تُنْفِقُوا مِمَّا تُحِبُّونَ

which can only be rendered in one way : “Ye cannot attain to righteousness until ye expend of that which ye love.”

The author of the poem, who is said to have been a *Hanīf*, but never embraced Islam, was the Captain of the Aus in the long fratricidal wars which scourged Yathrib in the years preceding the Prophet's Flight, and led the citizens of that town to welcome Muḥammad as the only authority able to bring them to an end. There is no sound reason for doubting its genuineness, unless it be held that wherever an expression used in the Qur'ān is found in profane literature, it is a sign that the latter is interpolated or fabricated—a doctrine which does not appeal to me as reasonable. Even if this argument is allowed weight, the citation from Sūr. iii, 86 really seems to settle the matter finally in favour of the native commentators.

C. J. LYALL.

SUR L'ARIDITÉ ET LA SÉCHERESSE DU TURKESTAN

On explique, en partie, l'étonnante conservation des documents bouddhiques et manichéens découverts à Khotcho et à Touenn-houang, c'est-à-dire dans la partie occidentale de l'ancien royaume des Ouïghours, par l'extrême sécheresse du Turkestan chinois¹ et de la Mongolie,² dont le sol, complètement et absolument aride, n'est jamais mouillé par les eaux du ciel.

¹ Cf. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, vii ; *l'Asie Orientale*, pp. 119, 182. Le Révérend Père Wieger parle également, dans ses *Textes historiques chinois*, de ce climat d'une sécheresse absolue, qui conserve indéfiniment intactes les inscriptions sur pierre, pour la grande joie des épigraphistes.

² Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie*, *ibid.*, p. 182.

En l'année 1420 de l'ère chrétienne, au mois de Juillet, les ambassadeurs que Shah Rokh Béhadour, roi de Perse, avait envoyés à l'empereur de la Chine se trouvèrent engagés dans le désert qui précède Tourfan. Ils durent faire la plus grande diligence pour éviter les attaques du fils de Mohammed Beg, qui s'était mis à leur poursuite, et "bien qu'il tombât presque tous les jours de la grêle et de la pluie, ils franchirent avec une extrême promptitude les vallées et les montagnes: *وایلچیان مستوهم* : شده با آنکه اکثر ایام زاله بود و باران از درها و کوهها ¹ بسرعت گذشتند". Cette marche hâtive des ambassadeurs, sous la pluie et sous la grêle, dura trois semaines, après lesquelles ils arrivèrent à Tourfan, d'où ils gagnèrent, en trois étapes, la ville de Kara-Khofcho ² *قرا خواجه*, la Ho-tchéou 火州 des Chinois, où M. von Lecocq a découvert les fresques qui ornent aujourd'hui le musée de Berlin.

M. C. E. Bonin, parlant du vihara de Touenn-houang, qu'il a décrites le premier, après la mention trop rapide qu'en avaient donné Prjewalski, Kreitner, et les autres explorateurs du Turkestan chinois,³ dit que leur étage inférieur est à moitié ensablé par les alluvions du torrent sur lesquelles elles sont situées, et qu'il le sera bientôt complètement, si l'on ne prend quelques précautions.⁴

¹ Quatremère, "Notice du Matla al-saadeïn," dans les *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tome xiv, pp. 309-10. Le passage où il est parlé de ces pluies dans le désert est emprunté à la relation officielle des ambassadeurs persans, et il est par conséquent impossible d'élever des doutes contre leur affirmation. L'identité de la Kara-Khotcho des ambassadeurs de Shah Rokh avec la ville où furent découvertes les fresques du musée de Berlin est absolument certaine.

² Faute habituelle des copistes persans pour *قرا خوچه* par confusion de *خواجه* avec le mot arabe *خوچه*.

³ "Les grottes des mille Bouddhas": *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1901, pp. 209 et seq.

⁴ Il est assez évident que les ascètes qui habitaient ce monastère de troglodytes avaient besoin d'eau pour les usages courants de la vie, et qu'ils n'auraient pu y demeurer, s'il n'avait été situé près d'une rivière.

L'apport annuel des sables et des alluvions par le ruisseau ne peut malheureusement servir de base à un calcul qui établirait l'âge du vihara, car l'on sait, d'une façon certaine, que la région du Gobi était jadis beaucoup plus riche en eau qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui, et que, par suite, les pluies y étaient bien plus fréquentes qu'elles ne le sont devenues ; et il est impossible de déterminer quelle fut la variation du débit de la rivière de Touenn-houang à travers les siècles.

Il est inutile d'insister sur le nombre fantastique de mètres cubes d'eau qui, pendant des centaines d'années, ont passé dans cet étage inférieur du vihara de Touenn-houang, dont M. Stein a rapporté les trésors au British Museum ; les personnes qui, à Paris, durant la crue de la Seine, en 1910, ont eu le rez-de-chaussée de leur maison à moitié rempli d'eau durant une semaine, celles qui, plus simplement, ont habité sur les bords d'un canal dans une ville de Hollande, seront édifiées sur les conditions hygrométriques des étages supérieurs des grottes des Mille Bouddhas.

La description des antiquités trouvées dans les " grottes de pierre de Touenn-houang " consacre un chapitre spécial aux " eaux de Sha-tchéou 沙州水 ", et parle longuement des cours d'eau, des étangs, des salines, des digues qui se trouvaient sur le territoire de Sha-tchéou, dont dépendait le poste de Touenn-houang, près duquel s'élève le vihara des Mille Bouddhas.¹ Le Gobi, dit de Humboldt,² est

¹ *Touenn-houang-sheu-sheu-yi-shou*, 2^e mémoire. Contrairement à tous les usages littéraires du Céleste Empire, cet ouvrage, dans lequel il est question de découvertes archéologiques faites par des chinois, indépendamment des découvertes européennes, n'a point de préface. Il y est parlé de canaux larges de trois toises chinoises, c'est-à-dire de trente pieds, ou dix mètres, et de digues qui ont une hauteur égale à la largeur de ces canaux. Le *Touenn-houang-sheu-sheu-yi-shou* cite de même un ouvrage qui a été spécialement écrit sur les cours d'eaux du Hsi-yu, autrement dit de l'Asie Centrale. Le sel des salines de Sha-tchéou était l'objet d'un commerce important.

² *Tableaux de la Nature*, tome i, p. 95, Paris, 1851.

improprement appelé désert, car il contient, en différents endroits, de beaux pâturages; dans le pays d'Aksou, on trouve "des raisins, des grenades, et un grand nombre de fruits d'une saveur exquise". Les champs sont également couverts de coton jaune, qui fait l'effet de nuages.¹ Il est difficile, pour ne point dire impossible, d'admettre que ces pâturages puissent être florissants, que ces fruits se développent, dans un pays que l'on nous représente comme anhydre.²

"Les vents," dit Timkhovski,³ "sont très fréquents dans le Turkestan oriental, au printemps et en été; lorsque les vents cessent, des brouillards les remplacent, et arrosent la terre comme une rosée bienfaisante. La pluie cause dans ces contrées des effets très nuisibles; elle y est rare, mais si elle tombe, même en petite quantité, pendant le temps que les arbres sont en fleurs, elle les fane; si elle tombe abondamment, les arbres paraissent comme couverts d'huile, et ils ne portent point de bons fruits." Près de

¹ D'après un auteur chinois, dont la traduction est citée par de Humboldt, *ibid.*, p. 100.

² Dans les *observations de physique et d'histoire naturelle*, l'empereur Khang-hi dit qu'il ne pleut presque jamais dans le royaume de Khamil, et que les petites pluies qui y tombent quelquefois mouillent à peine la surface de la terre. Outre cela, il n'y a ni rosée, ni brouillard, qui puissent l'humecter. Cependant les campagnes sont arrosées et fertiles, quoiqu'il y ait peu de rivières et que les ruisseaux et les fontaines y soient très rares. Tant il est vrai que l'industrie et le travail suppléent à tout. Comme il tombe beaucoup de neige en hiver sur les montagnes, les habitants ont imaginé de conduire l'eau dans de grands réservoirs à mesure qu'elle se fond. Quand les chaleurs sont venues, ils la font couler dans leurs champs et la distribuent avec tant d'économie qu'elle suffit à fertiliser leurs campagnes. "Comme les chaleurs de ce pays sont extrêmes, je craignais, dit l'empereur, que quelques Musulmans que j'y avais envoyés n'en fussent incommodés; ils revinrent tous à Pé-king sans avoir été malades. Je leur demandai si les chaleurs de Khamil et de Tourfan étaient plus insoutenables que celles de Hang-tchéou; ils me répondirent qu'on les supportait plus aisément parce que, quoique le pays soit élevé et la terre brûlante, on a de l'eau fraîche pour se désaltérer, au lieu qu'à Hang-tchéou, l'eau des puits même est comme tiède pendant la canicule et ne peut ni rafraîchir ni désaltérer."

³ *Voyage à Pékin*, tome i, p. 410.

Kutché,¹ en hiver, la neige tombe en telle abondance qu'elle peut abaisser la température du sol d'une montagne ardente, d'une façon suffisante pour que les habitants du pays puissent fouiller la terre pour en tirer du sel ammoniac.

L'histoire du Céleste Empire rapporte qu'en 657, Sha-pouo-lo Khaghan ayant attaqué la Chine, Kao Tsoung envoya une armée pour repousser ses bandes. Le khaghan des Turks occidentaux fut battu près de la rivière Yé-hi; sur ces entrefaites, il tomba une telle quantité de neige que la terre en fut couverte à la hauteur de deux pieds. Sha-pouo-lo se figura naïvement que les Chinois se laisseraient arrêter par l'inclémence de la température, mais son attente fut vaine, car il fut pourchassé par le général Sou Ting-fang, et il dut se réfugier dans le pays de Samarkand.²

Les contrées orientales de l'ancien royaume des Ouïghours, et celles qui en étaient voisines, n'étaient pas mieux partagées que Khotcho ou Touenn-houang. " In

¹ De Humboldt, *Fragmens de géologie et de climatologie asiatiques*, p. 107. Je maintiens pour le nom de cette ville la forme Kutché; la forme ancienne 龜茲 ne s'est jamais prononcée autrement que Kvi-tcha aux époques anciennes, Kouei-tzeu, aujourd'hui, sans dentale à la fin du second monosyllabe; Djouveïni, au xiii^e siècle, écrit toujours كوجا, soit Kutché, et jamais autre chose; c'est également cette forme كوجا, avec l'addition d'un *medda* sur l'élif pour indiquer la prolongation de la voyelle, qui se trouve dans le *Khing-ting-Hsi-yu-thoung-wen-tchi* (ch. ii, pp. 16-17), dans lequel on trouve une description de l'Asie Centrale au milieu du xviii^e siècle, avec les formes onomastiques de cette époque récente. Le nom chinois de cette localité est aujourd'hui 庫車, Khou-tchhé, soit Kutché, que le *Hsi-yu-thoung-wen-tchi* (ibid.) transcrit Kütkhé, en mongol et en Kalmouk, Khou-Khré en tibétain, avec une faute dans le dernier groupe consonnantique, la voyelle *é* étant sûre. La forme Koutchar est née d'une audition défectueuse de Koutchâ, *l—â* long final d'un mot, prolongé, pouvant dans certains cas être entendu sous la consonnance—*ar*, surtout par les Anglais et les Français qui prononcent à peine les—*r*; c'est par un procédé inverse que les créoles transforment le groupe *ar* en *â* . . . *â* dans *Gâ—âraïé* pour *Garnier*, *er* en *é—é*, dans *ché-é* pour *cher*.

² *Kang-mou, tching-pian*, ch. xl, p. 113.

media enim æstate," dit Jean de Plan Carpin,¹ "quando in aliis partibus solet calor maximus abundare, ibi sunt tonitrua magna et fulgura, ex quibus homines plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ nives.² . . . In ea etiam in hyeme nunquam pluit, sed in æstate sæpe : et tam modicum, quod vix potest aliquando pulverem et radices graminum modicare. Grando etiam ibi sæpe maxima cadit : unde eo tempore quando fuit electus et in sede regia poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione, sicut plenius intelleximus, plus quam centum et sexaginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi, res autem et habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. . . . In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ nives, in alia autem parvæ."³ La pluie, la neige, et la grêle ne pouvaient être rares dans une contrée, aussi bien dans l'ouest du Turkestan, sur les frontières de l'Islam, qu'en Mongolie, où les sorciers se vantaient, d'après ce que racontent les historiens et les voyageurs anciens, de les faire tomber à leur gré, même en plein été, par des incantations qu'ils opéraient à l'aide d'une pierre de jade.

Ces conditions climatériques sont essentiellement différentes de celles du désert d'Egypte et de Libye, avec lesquelles on a voulu les confondre. Les géographes, les historiens, les voyageurs, s'accordent pour dire qu'il ne pleut jamais dans le désert d'Egypte,⁴ et que le sable, d'une

¹ Edition de la Société de Géographie, p. 609.

² Lesquelles neiges se résolvaient naturellement en eau ; on comparera la fonte subite de la grêle, qui noie plus de 160 personnes dans le camp de l'empereur des Mongols, et les tentes emportées par ce torrent.

³ Ibid., p. 610.

⁴ "La sécheresse y est tellement grande qu'il n'y pleut qu'en douze ou vingt ans une fois, dit Carlier de Pinon, qui visita l'Egypte en 1579 ; encores est icelle pluye de fort peu de durée. Bien est vray que quelquefois en hyver il tombe deça de la des gouttes d'eau, lesquelles toutes fois sont en si petit nombre, et dure leur cheute si peu de temps, que la terre n'en est aucunement mouillée. Les habitans du Caire nous ont asseuré, que lors que nous y estions, il n'y avait pleu depuis vingt ans" (man. français, 6092, fol. 60 r^o).

sécheresse absolue, conserve indéfiniment les objets déposés dans les sarcophages qui y sont enfouis. Mais cela, comme on le voit, ne ressemble en rien à ce qui se passe dans le Turkestan, où il pleut et où il neige : si épaisse que soit la couche de sable qui recouvre le sol de cette contrée, l'eau qui tombe à sa surface n'en est pas moins obligée de la traverser tout entière, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit complètement absorbée, ou jusqu'à ce qu'elle atteigne la roche et les couches imperméables de l'argile.

E. BLOCHET.

LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le conseil de la fondation, n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de novembre 1912, est composé comme suit : MM. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. de Boer, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même également, le montant nominal est de 21,500 florins hollandais (43,000 francs) ; en outre, au mois de novembre 1913 les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 2,300 florins (4,600 francs).

3. On se permet d'attirer l'attention sur ce qu'il est encore disponible un certain nombre d'exemplaires de la reproduction de la *Ḥamāsah d'al-Buḥturī*. En 1909 la fondation a fait paraître chez l'éditeur Brill à Leyde cette reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde réputé unique. C'est au profit de la fondation que ces exemplaires sont vendus ; le prix en est de 200 francs. Ainsi les acheteurs contribueront à atteindre le but que se propose la fondation : de favoriser l'étude des langues orientales et de leur littérature.

Novembre, 1913.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIA: An Account of the History and Culture of Ancient Hindustan. By LIONEL D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D., Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum. 8vo; pp. ix, 306, with numerous illustrations and a map. London: Philip Lee Warner: 1913.

This book, a volume of the Handbooks to Ancient Civilization Series, has for its object, as the Preface tells us, "to present within a moderate compass a general survey of the history and culture of Ancient India." The subject could not have been placed in more competent and sympathetic hands than those of Dr. Barnett; and we congratulate both him and his readers on the manner in which he has handled it.

The book gives in the first two chapters "an outline of the historical changes through which India has passed from the earliest days down to the beginning of the thirteenth century." Here, chapter 1, Outlines of the Early History and Civilisation, deals, in two divisions, with the Age of the Vēda and the Expansion of the Āryas, and is supplemented by two Appendices, one giving a List of the Chief Hindu Deities, and the other a brief account of the Ethnographic and Linguistic Divisions of Modern India. And chapter 2 presents a Chronology beginning with B.C. 600, in or about which year Śīśunāga founded the Śāīśunāga dynasty of Magadha, and running down to A.D. 1200, which is practically the end of the pre-Musalmān period.

The rest of the book is devoted to a sketch of "the conditions of society as revealed by literature and the monuments, the constitution and administration of the

State, the chief religious rituals, the nature of the scientific knowledge possessed by the ancient Hindus, their systems of weights, measures, and coinage, and their achievements in architecture, sculpture, and painting."

Here, in the first place, chapter 3, on Law and Government, deals with the State and the Organisation of Society, the Family, Civic Life, the Four Stages, and Caste; and one of the bases used for it to much advantage is that interesting work the *Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra*, which supplements so practically the inscriptions and the epics and other literary sources. In this department, of course, a very important feature was the king, with everything connected with him. A perusal of p. 98 will show that ancient Indian kings had no easy time; their movements and duties were too carefully regulated for the whole round of the twenty-four hours to permit of that: from one sunrise to the next the king's time was mapped out in sixteen periods, each of an hour and a half; and the only interval that he had entirely to himself seems to have been three hours, including midnight, which he spent in well-earned sleep, and the next hour and a half, which he passed in meditation, preparing himself for the renewal of his round of labours. It is no great matter for surprise that so many kings in ancient India ended their careers by abdicating, to find rest and quiet at last in religious retirement! On the other hand, they were allowed their occasional amusements, which were equally well provided for. One among these was the chase; and a special regulation about the royal hunting-park ordained (p. 107) that "it was to be surrounded by a ditch, to have one entrance, and to be stocked with tigers and other wild animals deprived of their claws —[but what about their teeth?]- so that the king could indulge in sport without danger to his royal person." In the matter of stocking the preserves, this ancient provision, we think, is still remembered in some of the *shikār* arrangements which

are made in the present day for the benefit of distinguished visitors.

Chapter 4 deals with the Vēdic Ritual in two divisions, Grihya and Śrauta; and chapter 5 sketches the Non-Vēdic Rituals, with Yōga and Magic. In chapter 6 we have an outline of the Astronomy, Geography, and Cosmography. Chapter 7 deals with Coinage and the Measures of Weight, Length, and Time. The next three chapters are given to Medicine, Writing, and Architecture. Finally, Sculpture and Painting are treated in chapter 11.

The chapter on astronomy contains one of the very few statements in the book which seem open to question. We are told on p. 196 that it is quite uncertain when the solar zodiac was introduced into India. But it is a well-established fact that the Hindūs received the signs of the zodiac, and all that went with them, from the Greeks. In the early period they were satisfied with their own primitive astronomy, which divided the celestial circle into twenty-seven equal parts called *nakshatras*, and each of them into quarters, and gave them thus all that was then wanted: their aim was confined in those days to calculating the courses of the sun and the moon; and such astrology as they had was limited to those two orbs, and even so was of a very rudimentary kind. It was eventually, not the Greek astronomy that attracted them, but the fully-developed Greek planetary astrology, which opened out a quite new field. They took that up with avidity; and they had to take over with it the Greek astronomy as a necessary adjunct, giving the only means of determining the astrological details with the required accuracy. And every indication points to the period A.D. 350 to 400, or closely thereabouts, as the time when that happened: see, further, my remarks in JRAS., 1912, p. 1039 f.

In the same chapter, something might perhaps have been said about the use of the gnomon in ancient

India for orientating the sacrificial altar and telling (approximately) the time of day. The Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra describes its use for the former purpose, and specifies the stars whose rising and setting were observed by three different schools for laying out the east-and-west line. In the other matter, the Kautīliya, using the gnomon of twelve ordinary *angulas* or fingers, teaches (2. 20) that, when the length of the shadow is 96 *angulas*, then 1/18th of the daytime has elapsed since sunrise, or remains to run before sunset; when the shadow measures 72 *angulas*, then the fraction of the daytime, elapsed or remaining, is 1/14th; and so on.¹ The other appliance for telling the time was the clepsydra, in the form of a floating water-jar (*ghaṭī*), made of metal, which marked the successive *nāḍīs* or periods of twenty-four minutes by the trickling of water into it through a hole in the bottom, and was of course available at night as well as by day: this is described in the Kautīliya and the Jyōtisha-Vēdāṅga.

The book has a very full Index. And its value and interest are further enhanced by a coloured frontispiece showing an Ajaṇṭā painting of Buddha, and twenty-four plates in half-tone illustrating the coinage and architecture. We have also a Map of Ancient India, a Jain Cosmographic Diagram, and a table of Specimens of Alphabets which, though necessarily limited, is well-chosen and useful.

¹ This carries back to the time of the Kautīliya a rule which is found in various forms in the astronomical books of the later period, and resolves itself into the formula "fraction of daytime = gnomon divided by twice gnomon-plus-shadow." The rule postulates (1) that there is no shadow at noon, and (2) that, when the sun is half-way up or down, the length of the shadow is equal to the height of the gnomon: it really applies only for places along the equator and at the time of an equinox, and, even so, is exactly correct only for sunrise and sunset, 9.0 a.m. and 3.0 p.m., and noon; but the Kautīliya, in accordance with the system of mean or uniform time, which alone was known in those days, applies it for the latitude and time of the summer solstice and for any part of the daytime.

The design on the cover shows an interesting sandstone figure of Brahma, of about the eleventh century, from the British Museum, which seems to be illustrated here for the first time. The illustrations, indeed, are a special feature of the book; and the following ones seem particularly noteworthy in addition to the cover-design and frontispiece. Plate 12 reproduces a very good photographic view of the wonderful Kailāsa temple at Elūrā, which was cut out of the solid rock under the orders of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I at some time about A.D. 765-70. Plate 22 shows, from a new photograph, a British Museum sculpture of the Gandhāra school illustrating a scene from the Śibi Jātaka, in which king Śibi sacrifices his own flesh to save a dove from a hawk. Plate 24 presents a fine statue of Buddha, of the Gupta period, now in the British Museum, which appears to be illustrated here for the first time. Plates 25 to 27 reproduce from Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan* three very typical and interesting Buddhist wall and panel paintings, from Dandan Uiliq, which illustrate a variety of the Gandhāra art adapted to local circumstances. Plate 28 exhibits, apparently for the first time, a particularly fine Bōdhisattva statuette, of the Gandhāra school, which also is in the British Museum.

This notice of Dr. Barnett's book does it but scanty justice. The difficulty in the way of an attempt to exhibit its merits better is that it is devoted, not to propounding views which would have to be weighed and perhaps criticized, but to presenting facts which are to be studied and used. But it is not to be thought that the book is in any way dull because it deals with facts: on the contrary, it is attractive reading all through. It is a very practical addition to our bases for the study of everything relating to ancient India, and will be found eminently useful by scholars, engaged in particular lines of research, who, in order to succeed in their aims, must

have also a general knowledge of the latest results attained in branches which lie outside their own special spheres of work.

J. F. FLEET.

THE CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE HISSAR DISTRICT, PUNJAB.

By E. C. H. TOWNSEND, I.C.S. Punjab Government Press. Price 1s.

This is a valuable little work of seventy-three pages. It is well up to the level of the recent *fasciculi* of the Punjab Customary Law Series, of which it forms vol. xxv. This series is not as well known as it ought to be to students of custom and sociology, and the present volume is especially to be commended to the notice of ~~practical~~ administrators for several reasons.

The district of Hissar has been long under British rule. No manual of its customary law has ever been drawn up before, but in 1840 a kind of memorandum (*wājib-ul-arz*) for each village was compiled, dealing, however, only with the rights of Government and the landowners. Practically nothing was then recorded as to succession, alienation, or women's rights. It was doubtless assumed that in all such matters the peasantry followed Hindu Law, in one of its schools, though which school was favoured no one could say. However this may be, "all the available evidence," writes Mr. Townsend, "shows that the rights of women were very much wider then than they are now. Nor is the reason for this far to seek. The country was in a very unsettled condition then, and devastated by periodical famines. There was much demand for cultivators, and, as life and property were by no means so secure then as they are now, the people were generally only too glad to get outsiders into their village. A careful examination of the history of most of the Jât and Râjpût villages of the tract, but more especially of the latter, shows that a considerable number of the present landowners are descendants of

sisters and daughters. There were then very little, if any, restrictions on the powers of a sonless proprietor to give his land to the sons of his sisters or daughters, so long as they came and settled in the village." This is no doubt more or less the accepted official view. In a time of disorder and destitution women's rights get recognition. When civilized administration is established they get lost sight of. By 1863 times had begun to change. Inheritance and alienation were then dealt with in a new edition of the *wājib-ul-arz*, but "even so", says Mr. Townsend, "though some limitations of those rights [i.e. women's rights] were then declared as existing, they were by no means so restricted as they are now stated to be." After 1863 the "agnatic theory" took shape, and at the recent settlement of 1910, effected by Mr. Townsend, he found the Customary Law on these points much "developed". "Women's rights generally, as regards land at any rate, have become much more restricted, and the same [statement] applies to rights of alienation and inheritance generally, particularly of ancestral land. The tract has become more prosperous (owing mainly to the extension of canal irrigation). The price of land has risen: and the people are keenly adverse to strangers coming into the village and acquiring their ancestral land." Mr. Townsend thinks, and he is unquestionably right, that the peasantry have to some extent stated what they wish to be the law for the future rather than the existing customs. As he points out, "the sonless are always in a minority, and it is they who want to alienate their lands to daughters or sisters." (It will be observed that Mr. Townsend accepts the assumption tacitly made by adherents of the agnatic theory that women have somehow lost all the rights of *inheritance* bestowed on them by Hindu Law.) He concludes by writing: "It was therefore to the interest of the majority of those who gave the replies in question to maintain that greater

restrictions exist in rights to alienate, whether generally or to daughters or sisters in particular, than is, perhaps, really the case."

Now whatever view may be taken of our duty in India, whether it be held that we ought to govern according to our notions of what is right or wrong, or thought that we should govern according to local *plebiscita*, one thing at least is abundantly clear, and that is that in no legal sense does any customary law whatsoever exist in the Hissar District. Custom must not be variable, uncertain, or changeable, and the so-called customs in Hissar are all three. The memory of man runneth not to a time when women had no ~~rights~~ of inheritance. On the contrary, it runs to a time, as recent as 1840, when they passed on those rights to their children. Under these circumstances to talk of custom, in the legal sense, as existing in Hissar is to talk of what does not exist. With the results of the so-called custom this is not the place to deal. A veritable famine of women exists in the Punjab generally. Hissar is no exception. There is only too much reason to believe, with von Mayr and Kirchhoff, that the sex-ratios in India are profoundly affected by the treatment which women receive.

H. A. ROSE.

THE IRSHĀD AL-ARĪB ILĀ MA'RIFAT AL-ADĪB, or DICTIONARY OF LEARNED MEN OF YĀQŪT. Edited by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Vol. VI, containing the last part of the letter ξ to the first part of the letter ρ . pp. 531. Leyden, Brill; London, Luzac & Co.; 1913.

This further volume of Professor Margoliouth's work, which reaches us through the Trustees of the Gibb

Memorial, is a truly valuable acquisition. It covers the names between *محمد بن حمزة* and *محمد بن الحسن البرجي*, and will be found to largely exceed in interest the preceding volumes owing to the importance of the biographies which fall within its compass. To mention only those of the highest order, among the 181 notices in the volume are ample biographical memoirs of some of the greatest names in the literature of Islam, such as Jāḥiẓ, Sībūyah, Ḥarīrī, Bīrūnī, Shāfi'ī, Ṭabarī, and Muḥassin b. 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, author of *al-Faraj ba'd al-Shidda*. And as the materials utilized by the author for his work were more comprehensive than those used by his predecessors, it inevitably follows that in the case of all the above-named persons he provides us with a mass of biographical detail which supplements in a highly instructive fashion our hitherto available information. Not that this by any means exhausts the interest of the volume if one takes into account the valuable notices devoted to the Andalusian al-Faṭḥ b. Khākān, the Rāwī and pedigree writer 'Īsā b. Yezīd ibn Da'b, the grammarian Keisān al-Hujeymī, Abū Khalīfa al-Jumāhī, the Shī'a poet al-Mufajja' (cf. ZDMG., vol. lx, p. 225, here p. 139, ll. 6 ff.), and the poet Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī, known for his contest with Mutanabbī (pp. 504-18).

Yāqūt has much to say on the *Udabā* of his own day, and much of that from his own personal knowledge. Of these the most prominent is Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-'Adīm, the judge at Aleppo, who by reason also of his literary efforts deserved a place in a work on *Udabā*. By way of introduction to his full notice of him (pp. 18-46) Yāqūt gives, from a document communicated to him by Kamāl al-Dīn, particulars of his ancestors through whom, from father to son, the judicial office at Aleppo had descended. In contrast with the many honourable traits attributed to him by Yāqūt comes, as a jarring note, the harsh censure passed on this same

Kamāl al-Dīn, in his judicial capacity, by Maqrīzī (*Khitat*, ii, 296), by reason of the loose view as to abrogating the destination of ancient Waqf property which he enunciated, and to which he gave the sanction of his authority.

The volume tells us also much of Yāqūt's own doings. In the grammarian Mubārak b. Mubārak al-Wajih (d. A.H. 612) he presents a teacher of his own (p. 232), a man distinguished by wide linguistic attainments (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Ethiopic, Armenian, and *Zanjīya*) and able to boast as his pupil 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. It is from personal intercourse in Khwārizm that he depicts (pp. 155 ff.) the accomplished ~~historian~~ Qāsim b. Husein, who was on his guard against being taken to be a Mu'tazilite by reason of his *nisba*, al-Khwārizmī—a not unimportant addition to the facts stated in *Der Islam*, iii, 222. We are given also an incident in his career as a dealer in books—told, indeed, very cursorily with a view to sparing the memory of the Aleppo ruler, al-Malik al-Zāhir, Saladin's son—how he happened to become possessed of a superb copy of Balkhī's geographical work, which he sold to this sovereign at cost price (pp. 147 ff.).

I have pointed out the distinguishing features of Yāqūt's work and aims when reviewing the former volumes, and it is needless to revert thereto in dealing with this further portion of the work, in which they are equally discernible. But this is to be noted, the author's devotion to calligraphy. He never omits to indicate the presence of this accomplishment in the subjects of his biographies, some of whom attain their place in his list of *Udabā* by this qualification alone, and without having done anything of mark in the field of belles-lettres. This alone it was that entitled the lady Fāṭima bint al-Aqrā' (d. A.H. 480), who was entrusted with the writing out of an agreement for a truce between the Caliph and the

Byzantine emperor, to admission to Yāqūt's gallery of portraits.

It is not our intention to consider here what additions this volume makes to Yāqūt's sources of information. To do this would be to encroach on the province of Dr. Bergsträsser, who has already treated this question so thoroughly, and who will, we hope, extend his examination to vols. v and vi. It is, however, noteworthy that the author (p. 197, l. 9, and 467, l. 4 a.f.) makes use of additions to the *Fihrist* by Abu-l-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Maghribi, to whom two literary epistles were addressed by Abu-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. For al-Maghribi, in spite of his chequered career (cf. Margoliouth, *Letters of Abu-l-'Alā*, p. 1), found leisure for literary work: Abu-l-'Alā's imitation of the Koran appears as *نقص القرآن* (p. 235, l. 7 a.f.). Very noteworthy, too, are details on the origin and value of the *Kitāb al-'Ayn* on p. 197 (from the additions of al-Wazīr al-Maghribi) and pp. 200, 222.

A quotation on p. 74, l. 5 a.f., discloses a member of the learned Najīramī family (cf. JRAS. 1912, p. 813), who is unascertained on existing sources of information. Of his own works Yāqūt cites, besides his *أخبار الشعراء*, in reference to an occurrence in Andalusia (p. 244, l. 3) his historical work *التاريخ الذي سميته المبدأ*.

Yāqūt subjects his sources to some criticism of his own (p. 102): Ibn al-Jauzī he distrusts (p. 204, l. 4); of fabulous stories he is somewhat sceptical (p. 338); but he is himself guilty of a literary-historic *lapsus* in making the Baghdad Qādī Abu-l-Husain 'Omar b. Muḥammad (d. A.H. 328) to be the *first* to compose a *Faraj ba'd al-shidda* work—a statement faithfully copied by Suyūṭī in the *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 364 (cf. on the history of this branch of literature the article by Dr. Alfred Wiener in *Der Islam*, vol. iv pp. 270, 387, 1913).

Professor Margoliouth's editorial task has been performed in the case of this volume also with the care and discernment which we are accustomed to detect in the work of the conscientious Oxford professor. The regret expressed at the close of our review of vol. v must be repeated in the case of this volume. Necessary vowel marks and signs should have been added to, at any rate, the often uncertain proper names and *nisbas*, but the omission is doubtless to be put down to the methods of the Eastern press where the work was printed. It is apparent from n. 1, p. 416, that, obviously from regard for taste and decency, certain passages in the poems of Bahḥātī have been suppressed; these were presumably more gross than those which occur p. 315, ll. 10 ff., and p. 412, ll. 13 ff.

Following our practice in the reviews of previous volumes, we again add some trifling observations on the text of this one:—

page line

7 5 a.f. دواج (perhaps = دواجن, incorrect), read داجن.

17 3. قصور, read قعود.

18 ult. ff. Cited in *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāk, 1299, ii, 101, with slight variants:

لم يكن في آباءني القدماء من يُعرف به.

42 13. ووجدانا, read ووجدانا.

56 3. النساء should not be emended as in n. 1 to النساء, but be read النساء, i.e. those who announced the intercalation in the Calendar (نسيء); cf. فَنَمَس in *Abhandlungen zur Arab. Phil.*, ii, 68.

57 7. خلاف الاسلام has no meaning here; as Jāhiz was noted for his نصرۃ الدين (l. 4), probably read اخلاق (cf. l. 5).

page line

- 71 7. الهوى, read الهول.
- 71 14. المتوقّر, read لموفر; by so reading it the editor's suggestion of a gap (n. 1) is displaced: "and he (الطاعن عليه) is angry when he has such characteristics attributed to him by one who praises him to excess" (*Lisān*, vii, 151, l. 13, توفّر فلان على فلان بمرّه . . . اى أسبغهُ and cf. *infra*, 253, l. penult.).
- 73 11. حجب instead of the proposed emendation عتّى, preferably تحجّب, حجت.
- 74 5. Delete قال.
- 78 10. القولية is unintelligible.
- 82 7. Cf. *Kitāb Ṭabakāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beyrouth, 1912, p. 31, ll. 5 ff.
- 82 15. العروبة, read عربوة, as p. 111, ll. 8, 11.
- 94 7. أخوة, inadmissible in this context: the more probable روايات differs too widely from the text.
- 97 6. امير المؤمنين. The original must have read الامير alone, for the person addressed is not Caliph.
- 109 6. بحياة المصحف, read مصحيت المصحف. Among other peculiarities of the ignorant populace they say *sittī* (for سيّدتى), they pray from a book, reckon the *tasbīḥ* with the aid of pebbles, and use the vulgar and incorrect form of oath "by the life of the Koran".
- 122 3. الغى, read إلقى, "my intimate friend."
- 158 12. أغرب . . . غوراً, read اعزب . . . عوزاً.
- 185 5. فسأهلكك read فسأهلك.
- 221 3 a.f., n. 2. The impossible باخمر of the text should be expunged and the reading of the *Fihrist* inserted. يا حميراً is a form of

- page line address used by Muhammad to 'Ājisha (*Ibn Sa'd*, viii, 55, l. 18), also *يا شُقَيْرَاء* (ib. 50, l. 8).
- 234 5 a.f. For *الخلفاء* should be substituted *الخلعاء* rather than the *الحرفاء* suggested by the editor in n. 2. See a similar substitution in Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, i, 116, n. 2.
- 258 11. *منه*, read *منها*.
- 258 ult. and 259, l. 1. *أخرج*, delete hamza.
- 285 12 and n. 3. The text is connected and intelligible provided you read *فسَوِّف*.
- 299 7. *الخبائى*, read *الجتابى* (cf. de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 111).
- 321 11-12. The order of these two lines should be reversed; the sense requires first *كاعتزال الخ* and then *وجفا الخ*.
- 322 3 a.f. Instead of the proposed emendation (n. 1) it is simpler to read *ر. زناماتها*.
- 367 4 and n. 1. The text bears a clear meaning, and the editor's assumption of some omission is needless.
- 371 ult. *لا يغلبتك*, read *ليغلبتك*.
- 383 12. *ليس الى*, read *ليس الا*.
- 402 ult. *الزرو*, read *الزّر* or *الزور*.
- 409 5 a.f. *النسخ*, doubted by the editor, should be retained. It refers to the activity displayed by al-Bahḥātī in copying several books (see p. 410, ll. 4 ff.).
- 415 2. *حلك*, read *هلك*.
- 435 3 a.f. and n. 1. The text is not defective provided the *قال* (within parenthesis) be transferred to the text and the words be transposed, thus *قال ابن حمدان وكان فيما الخ*.

page line

440 5 a.f. *وَمُسْتَبْعَى*, read *وَمُسْتَبْعَى*.

444 1. *لا يحدر بوجود*. What the author obviously means to convey is that no one besides him (Ṭabarī) was as well acquainted with the various systems of chronology as he was; I should be disposed, therefore, to read the doubtful words, somewhat freely indeed, thus: *وهذا* *باب لا يحضر بوجوده إلا له* "and this is a subject which, as to its various aspects, is present to no one as it is to him."

466 penult. *وَبَخِلَ*, read *وَبَخِلَ*, "he held it miserly."

482 penult. *مَجْدُودًا*, read *مَجْدُودًا*. The reading in the text expresses the reverse of what is intended.

489 4 a.f. and n. 2. It should be observed that a division of the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Quteyba bears the special title *كتاب تقويم اللسان* (ed. Cairo, 1300, p. 109, ed. M. Grünert, p. 333), and cf. in this connexion my reference ZDMG. 1881, vol. xxxv, p. 148. And in the text before us a distinction is implied between *ادب الكُتُب* and *على مثال ابن قتيبة*; the words *تقويم اللسان* refer, consequently, to *both* titles.

This sixth volume exhausts the supply at present available of the material for Yāqūt's work, the *Irshād*, although we refuse to give up the hope that luck may yet bring to light its lost portions. It is with regret that one parts from this work which has brought us a wealth of varied information, and we do so with hearty thanks to its untiring editor, and to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial who have brought about its prompt publication. We trust that the contemplated indices may follow shortly, whereby the utility of the five volumes of text now accessible to us will be both increased and facilitated.

I. GOLDZIHNER.

ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

DIE SPEKULATIVE UND POSITIVE THEOLOGIE DES ISLAM NACH RAZI († 1209) UND IHRE KRITIK DURCH TUSI († 1273): nach Originalquellen übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. M. HORTEN. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1912.

DIE HAUPTLEHREN DES AVERROES NACH SEINER SCHRIFT. Die Widerlegung des Gazali. Von Dr. M. HORTEN. Bonn, 1913.

DAS PHILOSOPHISCHE SYSTEM VON SCHIRAZI († 1640). Von Dr. M. HORTEN. Strassburg, 1913.

Islamic philosophy is a subject which European scholars rarely find attractive; still, some more or less successful attempts have been made at popularizing it, especially by Dieterici, Renan, and C. de Vaux. A writer thereon has now arisen in Dr. Horten, to whom we owe a long series of volumes wherein Islamic treatises are excerpted or translated. During the short space of one year, as will be seen from the above titles, he has issued no fewer than three volumes of the kind. The treatise of Averroes in answer to Ghazālī is translated with omissions; the theological part of the *Compendium* of Rāzī is abridged on a fairly liberal scale; and a volume of modest size summarizes the portentous work of Shīrāzī.

In all these cases the textual difficulties are considerable. In the Cairene text of the *Compendium* little confidence can be placed; in parts it seems to be a commentary on an omitted text. In the edition of Averroes which is before the reviewer the reader has the chance of verifying the quotations from Ghazālī, since the treatise by the latter immediately precedes; the differences between the two texts are apt to be of moment. Finally, the care with which the Teheran lithograph of Shīrāzī has been executed may be gauged by the fact that the printer after numbering the first 100 pages grew tired of the process and left the remaining 900 or so unnumbered.

Now, the Arabic philosophers ordinarily follow a rule, to which Diogenes Laertius alludes, forbidding the wasting of a word. Hence corruption of the text in the case of these books leads to disastrous results.

Probably the process employed by Dr. Horten in excerpting and abridging has some merits ; indeed, a translation of the vast work of Shīrāzī could scarcely be contemplated. Human patience has its limits. Still, in the cases of Rāzī and Averroes we have to do with discussions of the greatest subtlety, wherein the translator who omits and abridges takes upon himself an unnecessary responsibility. He would have facilitated his task by adhering strictly to the texts before him.

Now, it should be acknowledged that the translation of the difficult treatise of Averroes has considerable merit. There are many places wherein Dr. Horten has clearly taken no little trouble to enucleate the argument, and he has added not a few valuable elucidations. Indeed, the work is so well done that it is rather surprising that it is not done better. A thoroughly satisfactory piece of work would have required collation of MSS., whence it is likely that many a textual error could be corrected. Supposing, however, that this was impossible, there are some ways in which the translation could have been made more useful. Since it is the refutation of a refutation, it is highly important that the *dramatis personæ* should be carefully distinguished ; and this could easily have been effected by the use of different types or inverted commas. Now, not only has nothing of the sort been done, but the translator does not seem to have made up his mind as to the meaning of *mujīban* ‘an, “replying on behalf of,” and *mujīban* li, “replying to.” On pp. 74, 75, and 81, 82 the first of these expressions is given both meanings. And on p. 93 what is really part of a quotation from Ghazālī is made the commencement of the reply by Averroes.

The plan of translating here and there instead of continuously appears also to have obscured many arguments and to have ruined some entirely. It has the further disadvantage that the translator gets out of sympathy with the author, and makes him say things which it is quite clear that he did not mean. Could any one have really written as follows (p. 87)?—"Das Jetzt kann aber nur mit der vergangenen (vergehenden) nicht aber mit der künftigen Zeit existieren. Notwendigerweise besteht es erst *nach* der Vergangenheit und *vor* der Zukunft." No one contradicts himself as flatly as this; of course, the original when consulted has in place of the first sentence "the *now* can exist neither with the past nor with the future". On p. 74 (32) we read: "Dass irgend ein Zeitliches aus einem Ewigen hervorgehe halten wir nicht für unmöglich, sondern nur dass das erste Zeitliche so erschaffen wurde; denn dieses steht den früheren zeitlichen Dingen durchaus gleich in seinem Determiniertwerden zum Dasein." We are dealing with the first temporal thing; how can there be *earlier* temporal things? The texts of Ghazālī and Averroes vary somewhat in this case; but the meaning is clearly "for the first temporal thing will not at the time of its coming into existence differ from its previous state" or "differ from what was before it in respect of preponderance of the alternative of existence [over non-existence]".

On p. 82 there is an argument depending on the use of *different* grammatical forms for past and future, *kāna* for "was", *yakūnu* for "will be"; the rendering is "ein Begriff der in dem Worte *es war* angedeutet wird; denn dieses hat, auf die Vergangenheit angewandt, einen anderen Inhalt als auf die Zukunft bezogen". The next argument on the same page seems to be blurred by the rendering "bedeutet das Wort *es war* nur die Verbindung des Subjektes mit dem Prädikate, wie wir

z. B. sagen : Gott *war* nachsichtig und erbarmend". This is not true of *es war* (unless I am mistaken), but it is true of *kāna*, which according to one view in such passages as that quoted here from the Koran (iv, 100, etc.) signifies "is" (the copula).

On p. 92 Ghazālī is quoted as answering on behalf of the philosophers; Ghazālī's discussion begins "if it be said", and his reply commences "then we say". Clearly either both these phrases should be rendered by the translator or neither. The German translator omits the first; but he translates the second (p. 92, 28) "wir haben behauptet"—whereas if rendered at all it should be "then we say".

On p. 10 an illustration is drawn in the text of Ghazālī from "conditional divorce", i.e. the use of the formula "Thou art divorced if thou enter the house", etc. Averroes observes that in the opinion of those among the *Ahl al-Zāhir* who compare the factitious to the intelligible such a divorce does not count, nor does it become valid when the condition is fulfilled, because it becomes a divorce wherewith the action of the divorcer is not associated.¹ The explanation of this is partly given in the law-book of Averroes (*Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*, ii, 83), where we are told that "God has ascribed the divorce to the action of the husband, and [where it is made conditional on something else] it does not come about by the action of the husband save metaphorically; and the literal sense of the Koran should not without evidence be abandoned for the metaphorical". In the same place he tells us that this view was held by Dāwūd, the founder of the Zāhirites. If we turn to Dr. Horten's rendering, we find that he interprets the *ahl al-Zāhir* as "people who only see the surface of things", and endeavours to explain why their objection is superficial. And indeed

¹ يفتقرن. Read من غير أن يفترق به فعل المطلق.

his rendering "Jene Ehescheidung ergibt sich nicht mit innerer Notwendigkeit" is far from intelligible; the word *lazima* is technical in the sense "is binding". Further references to the Zāhirites are found later in the treatise.

In the dispute between Averroes and Ghazālī the present writer's sympathy is entirely with Ghazālī; the long list of Ghazālī's works appears to contain no such specimen of incompetence and presumption as Averroes's Summary of Aristotle's Poetics. And indeed Averroes's replies to Ghazālī have a tendency to be unconvincing. We may take one example. An argument of Avicenna's is quoted by Ghazālī, proving the unity of God. "If God is necessarily existing, then he must be necessarily existing essentially or for some reason. If the former be the case, then there can be only one God; if the latter, then he ceases to be necessarily existing."

Ghazālī replies that this is sophistry. First because for an absolute negation (e.g. causelessness) no reason is required. Secondly, because the word "essentially" does not imply unity; because "black" is essentially a colour, it does not follow that there is no other colour, e.g. "red".

Averroes in answer to this endeavours to show that "essentially" and "for a reason" are used equivocally by Ghazālī, but he fails to do so. And although he boasts of his Aristotelian knowledge as compared with Ghazālī, there is no doubt that here Ghazālī would have Aristotle on his side. If "black" is a colour essentially, then "colour" is "the perpetual consequent" of "black"; but that is a wholly different thing from being synonymous with "black". If, on the other hand, "black" is a colour accidentally, this means that it might conceivably not be a colour; just as a horse is black accidentally, i.e. it might be white without ceasing to be a horse. Bad as is the reply of Averroes, the German translation makes it worse than it need be; "denn das Genus ist eine Bestimmung, die zur Differenz und Genus hinzutreten" does not seem

to construe as German, and even if we emend "*hinzutritt*" the words contain a philosophical error which is not found in the Arabic—الجنس معنى زائد على الفصل والنوع—"the genus is a concept which is over and above differentia and species"; but even so the sentence is indefensible.

Still, the translation of Averroes is an agreeable surprise after that of Rāzī. The glossary appended to the latter ought not to pass without some remark, though the present writer regrets that it has fallen to his lot to judge it. Its most trivial offence is that it places among philosophical expressions some which belong to elementary Arabic, e.g. انتهى for انتهى, which is a somewhat more common abbreviation than *etc.* for "and the rest". Similarly, صحابي "belonging to the Companions of the Prophet" is put down as a philosophical technicality. However, these at least have the merit of being correct; where we approach philosophy more nearly, this merit is not conspicuous in the glosses. أبو قلس is glossed "Empedocles"; it stands for *Proclus*, and, indeed, Shīrāzī, who is quoted for this, is copying Shahrastānī. أنيقورس is identified with Leucippus; it stands of course for *Epicurus*, and here, too, Shahrastānī is being quoted. كناية الطلاق is rendered "Formel deren Aussprechen die Ehescheidung bewirkt"; it means "euphemism for 'Divorce'"; in the Law-books, e.g. the *Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, 214, 2-5), lists of such euphemisms are given. كوز is rendered "gegen Geld predigen und religiöse Funktionen ausüben", for which Goldziher is quoted. What Goldziher says is that the *mukawwiz* was the person who "took the bag round" for a *kāṣṣ* or storyteller. جذعاً is given the sense "direkt und unweigerlich"; what it means is "afresh", "as it was at the start". Under ثقل we have the gloss المكلثون هم اثقلان "die Geschöpfe denen göttliche Gebote auferlegt werden sind zwei am meisten (mit Materie) belasteten Wesen".

The author suggests that اثقلان may be a corruption of الثقلان "das denselben Sinn hat"; but surely الثقلان is one of the commonest phrases in the Arabic language for "men and jinn", and اثقلان is very doubtful grammar. Under شجرة الزقوم لها طعام الايثم there is the gloss "der Höllenbaum schmeckt wie Aitam"; had the author read on a few pages he would have found the whole passage of the Koran cited طعام الاثيم الخ "the food of the guilty"; لها is his own insertion. Indeed, the author's acquaintance with the Koran appears to be imperfect. A mystic station is repeatedly called by him اوارى, which he thinks a transcription and corruption of the Sanskrit *nirvāṇa*! It is of course the اودنى of Surah liii, 9, as the whole context shows.

This list must be sufficient; it is clear that the author was not well advised in publishing this glossary, which can only be regarded as a positive danger. Happily the production of immature work does not interfere with the accomplishment of better things; and Arabic scholars will be glad that some one has definitely taken up the study of this branch of literature. But it is clear that in this matter, as in most others, the more haste the worse speed. The world would have had more reason to be grateful for one scholarly work than for a whole series which does not earn that adjective.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HISTOIRE DES ARABES. Par CL. HUART. Tome I.
pp. iv + 387. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1912.

In spite of the many works extant dealing with the history of the Arabs, there is still room for a brief *résumé* based on the ample material now at the disposal of students. There is no doubt that so ripe a scholar as M. Cl. Huart is the right man to undertake the task.

The first volume, now published, extends from the early dawn of the history of the peninsula to the end of the Caliphs of the house of Abbās, interspersed with chapters on the rule of the various dynasties of Sultans (who wielded the real power in the name of the Caliph), as well as on the Fatimide Caliphs of Egypt. Appended is a chapter on the political and economic conditions of the empire.

The book opens with a brief description of the physical geography of Arabia and a sketch of the manners and customs of the pagan Arabs. Naturally the author touches upon the much discussed question of totemism, which in the case of the Arabs is particularly alluring. One can only agree with him that this theory lacks any historical basis and cannot, therefore, be seriously entertained. Several chapters are devoted to the pre-Islamic history of Arabia, and here again the author shows sagacious reluctance not to be carried away by startling theories insufficiently supported by historical and linguistic evidence. It is interesting to see that he finds the famous Musri-theory of the late Dr. H. Winckler unacceptable.

About half of the volume is devoted to the early history of Islām. The years of Mohammed's youth and development as the prophet of his people will probably always remain shrouded in a mist, which has been intensified by the numerous legends that fill the void of facts, and stories fabricated by zealous writers. To discover the landmarks of history is a task wellnigh impossible. M. Huart steers through the difficulties with the skill of an experienced pilot. He seems to share the opinion of the "critiques autorisés" (names not given) who suggested that those verses of the Qorān in which the name Mohammed occurs are interpolated. Of course, the use of this name in the treaty of Hodeibiya is of no historical value, as the wording of this treaty in

the form in which we know it is of much later date. The author also rejects the traditions which make the monk Bahīra a living person, but here again he merely hints at their being based on the homiletic application of certain Old Testament verses to the person of the Prophet, without revealing whence he derived this information. A possible meeting of Mohammed with a Nestorian divine (in one version of the legend the name of the monk is given as Nestūr) has also been suggested elsewhere. M. Huart upholds the tradition of the hallucinations to which Mohammed was subjected prior to his mission, a tradition which deserves as little credence as those mentioned before. The *tahannōth* (of which *tahannūf* is not a "forme dialectale", but a mere corruption) are nothing but the Hebrew *t'hinnōth* or prayers, and have nothing to do with *hanīf*, which, as M. Huart rightly says, means a worshipper of the true God in contradistinction to idols. The translation of *igra'* (Sūra xcvi, 1) by "lis" is obsolete, and should be replaced by "proclaim". It further seems that the first revelations were far from being the expressions of terror with which the majesty of God inspired the budding prophet, but rather the impression of the terror with which he endeavoured to inspire his audience. Neither is it strictly correct to translate *hijra* by "emigration", since the word implies the cutting oneself adrift from existing relations and environments. There is nothing to show that the Jews in North Arabia spoke Aramaic at that time. Their language was most probably Arabic, for which there exists some historical evidence. Their writing was similar to that found in Nabataean inscriptions, such as we find e.g. in the inscription of Petra, and it was probably this alphabet which Mohammed charged his secretary to acquire and not the Hebrew or Aramaic language.

Of great interest and really instructive is the chapter on the organization of Moslim society. The author

gives, in a small compass, a vivid picture of the vast change wrought by Islām amongst a people which shortly before had been little better than a horde of savages. This is followed by an exposition of Moslim theology, brief but sufficient to give the general reader a notion of the tenets of the Moslim creed. The further development of political and economic conditions are treated in a concluding chapter. It discusses the administration of justice, property laws, state revenues, imposts, and current coinage of the realm. Altogether the book, without giving startling results or much that is new, forms an attractive guide for readers who are unable to draw from the sources. Footnotes and index are entirely absent, and the bibliography at the end of the chapters, evidently meant for those who may desire to enter more deeply in one or the other of topics, is not as complete as it might be. Yet these are small defects and scarcely count in view of the general usefulness of the work.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

AL-HIDĀJA 'ILĀ FARĀ'ID AL-QULŪB des Bachja ibn Jōsēf ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien. Edited by Dr. A. S. YAHUDA. Leiden, 1912.

Concerning Bachya, who flourished in the eleventh century of our era, almost nothing is definitely known. The details of his life, the date of his death, and even the correct pronunciation of his name (Bachya or Bechayyē?) are matters of conjecture. He is remembered only as the author of one of the most famous and popular works on ethics which the Jews of Moslem Spain contributed to Arabic literature—the *Hidāya ilā farā'id al-qulūb*, or "Guide to Spiritual Devotion"—a work which owes its celebrity to the Hebrew translation made about 1160 A.D. by Jehuda ibn Tibbon. While this translation was, and

is, widely read by Jews in every part of the world, the Arabic original has hitherto been completely neglected. It is now edited for the first time from manuscripts at Oxford, Paris, and St. Petersburg by Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

In one important respect the *editio princeps* departs from the form of the original. Whereas Bachya himself, and the copyists after him, wrote the Arabic text in Hebrew characters, Dr. Yahuda has used Arabic type throughout, except in quotations from the Old Testament and other Hebrew books. The substitution may be criticized on purely historical and, to some extent, on purely philological grounds, but its practical advantages are undeniable. Besides the inconvenience of reading one language in the alphabet of another, it is obvious that the style and diction of a literary work can be best appreciated, and its relation to other works in the same language most easily understood, when it presents itself to the reader's eye and mind as an integral part of the literature to which it belongs. There is a further consideration which Dr. Yahuda—quite rightly, in my opinion—feels to be decisive. An edition of the *Hidāya* printed in Hebrew would be a sealed book, not only to many Oriental Jews who read and write Arabic, but also to the whole body of educated Moslems, some of whom, at any rate, will not be deterred by religious prejudice from welcoming its publication in a form that enables them to study it and to perceive, as they cannot fail to do, how closely the monotheistic and ethical ideals of Judaism coincide with their own.

What seems to me most interesting and valuable in Dr. Yahuda's elaborate Introduction is the section (pp. 53–113) in which he discusses the general influence of Islam on Jewish–Arabian culture, and more particularly the question how far the author of the *Hidāya* derived his materials from Mohammedan sources. Bachya, according to the custom of the period, borrowed freely without

acknowledging his debts, and these are often difficult to trace, because instead of quoting verbatim he commonly recasts and adapts to his purpose the passages which he appropriates. In the preface to his work he declares that he has availed himself of the sayings of wise and holy men of every class, and though he never mentions any Moslem by name, one need only glance at the titles of his ten chapters in order to see what branch of Arabic literature provided him with the requisite material. The unity of God (*tawhīd*), trust in God (*tawakkul*), self-examination (*muhāsabat*), asceticism (*zuhd*), love (*maḥabbat*)—they are the stock subjects of any ancient treatise on Ṣūfism. Bachya, indeed, makes his own position perfectly clear. Notwithstanding occasional phrases such as “union with the Supreme Light”, he is not to be ranked among the mystics. Reason and Authority are his watchwords. He knows nothing of the ecstasy, the inward vision, the revelation of God to the individual soul by an act of divine grace, which are the first principles even of orthodox Mohammedan mysticism. No doubt he preaches a religion of the heart—this is the meaning of *farā'id al-qulūb*—as opposed to a religion of external rites. So far he is altogether in harmony with the Ṣūfīs, but though much of the *Hidāya* is eloquent and impressive, we are conscious in reading it of a certain intellectual aridity from which the genuine *Ahl al-qulūb* are a long way removed. Bachya found in Ṣūfism just what he wished to find; as the editor remarks, he usually selected only those ideas that could be supported by Biblical or Talmudic parallels.

In the course of his learned survey of the ascetic and ethical literature of which extracts occur in the *Hidāya*—including traditions of the Prophet, λόγια of Jesus, moral sentences ascribed to the early Caliphs, the writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, etc.—Dr. Yahuda has identified a considerable number of sayings and anecdotes of the ancient ascetics and Ṣūfīs; for example, Ḥasan of Baṣra,

Rábi'a, 'Abdallah b. al-Jallá,¹ Sufyán al-Thawrí, 'Abdallah b. al-Mubáarak, Shaqíq al-Balkhí, and Abú Sulaymán al-Daránī. Add to these p. ٨٢, l. 1, اعرف الناس بالله, a saying of Dhu 'l-Nún al-Misrī (Qushayrī, Cairo, 1318 A.H., 168, 1), and p. ٢٢٢, l. 4, وقد كان بعض الصالحين يقول للناس الخ, an anecdote of Shaqíq al-Balkhí which is very briefly related in the *Hilyat al-Awliyá* (Cod. Leid. 311b, f. 210a). Shaqíq said to those who were present in his *majlis*: ارأيتم إن اماتكم الله اليوم يطالبكم بصلاة غد قالوا لا يوم لم نعش فيه كيف يطالبنا بصلاته قال شقيق كما لا يطالبكم بصلاة غد انتم لا تطلبوا منه رزق غد عسى ان لا تصيرون (تصيروا) الى غد. The passage (p. ١٤٨, l. 3) describing how the *mutawakkil* receives his daily bread from God is also of Mohammedan origin, but at this moment I cannot give specific references. It is certain that Bachya utilized the writings of Hārith al-Muhāsibī probably through Ghazālī. Dr. Yahuda has printed several extracts from the latter's *al-Hikmat fī makhlūqāt Allah* side by side with the corresponding passages in the *Hidāya*, and he points out that if Bachya's dependence on Ghazālī were established we should have to place the composition of the *Hidāya* considerably after the date which has generally been assigned to it.

As regards the text, Dr. Yahuda has, on the whole, successfully overcome the difficulties of transliteration, while in many instances he has shown skill and judgment in dealing with the numerous corruptions introduced by the copyists. Much, however, remains to be done before the text can be pronounced satisfactory. The following list is by no means exhaustive. It covers about two-thirds of the book and includes only those corrections which I have noted in the course of a first and somewhat hurried reading.

¹ Not al-Galā'. The name of Abu 'l-Hasan al-Surri (Introd. p. 88) is correctly written Abu 'l-Hasan al-Sarī b. al-Mughallis al-Saqatī.

page	line	
١٨	4	البَحْث Read . تنبيهى على البحث عن العلم الباطن
٢٣	8	العُجْز Read . العُجْز
٤١	7	ولا حَقَّ Read . ولا حَقَّ
٤١	10	تَعْذُر Read . تَعْذُر
٤٢	5	حُجْب Read . حُجْب
٤٢	6	واظهار Read . واظهار
٤٤	12	بَعْضُ الاعظم Perhaps . ان كان الاصغر يَعُدُّ الاعظم
٤٥	1	خَلَف Read . خَلَف
٥٣	15, and p. ٥٤, l. 7.	المشاهدة له Read . المشاهدة به
٥٤	5	فَلَمَّا Read . فَلَمَّا هو غير مرئى
٧١	8	اقول ان صفة القدم توجب لمن وجبت له صفة صفة الواحد and توجب Read . الواحد الحق
٧٥	11	يُكْرَم Read . يُكْرَم عليه
١٠٢	9	حصده Probably . حصله
١١٤	1	الى اقاربهم الذى ربما كان فى تاديتها اليتم حياتهم الخ الذين Read .
١١٤	8	وآثار Perhaps . واثار الحكمة . . . ظاهرة
١١٦	5	مُضْمَنَةٌ Read . لم تكن شريعة مُضْمَنَةٌ
١١٧	6	فتفقد, which the syntax requires, should probably be restored in the place of تفقد .
١٢٧	3	يُودِعُهُ is a misprint for يُودِعُهُ
١٣٢	12	وهى الشريعة التى باستعمال العقل فيها يقوى ويصفو ويستنير ويُنْفَى (يُنْفَى read) عن الانسان الجاهل (الجاهل corr. by the editor to المستولى على نفسه الخ What is the subject of يقوى and the following verbs? If it is الانسان, the words الانسان in the next clause are very awkward. We should rather expect تقوى وتصفو وتستنير وتنفى

page	line	
١٣٥	18	يدعوه . Read يدعوه .
١٣٧	17	وعدنا . Read اوعدنا .
١٤٤	2	الفاظًا . Read الفاظا . The editor's correction ومعان is unnecessary.
١٤٤	10	والسالم والمعتل واللين والمثلين والظاهر والخفي . Read اللين والملتين .
١٤٧	9	واجبًا . Read واجب .
١٤٧	13	معجزة . Read معجز .
١٥١	20	فاترًا and Read ما زال حرصى فاتر وشوقى كاذب . كاذبًا .
١٥٤	16	حمد . Read حميد .
١٦٣	8	فيدل ذلك كونها على زمام الخالق له . Perhaps فيدل كونها كذاك .
١٦٨	2	المترتان , or Read ومخازنها ومساكنها هي المترتين . هي instead of
١٦٨	15	يدي . Read يدي .
١٦٩	8	مجل . A misprint for مجل .
١٧٣	9	عند لقائك ذا فضل وبر وتقى الله وعالم بكتابه وعامل . Read بتأثيره . بطاعته .
١٧٤	2	الشهوات البهيمية التي تذهب لذاتها عن الانسان . Read تذهب عن عارها . ويبقى عليه في الدنيا عارها . الانسان .
١٧٦	17	المتوكل . Read التوكل .
١٧٦	18	فيشبه في سكون نفسه . . . اكثر من صاحب . Evidently فيشبه is corrupt. Read فنصيبة or فعيشة .
١٧٨	10	يخافونه . Read يخافه . Other cases occur where a noun in the plural is preceded by a verb in the plural.

page	line	
١٨١	9	ولم تتعنّ. Read ولم تتعنّى.
١٨٤	15	غير الخالق. Read ليس الى حكم احد غير الى الخالق.
١٨٦	2	مَرَدٌ. Read مَرَدٌ.
١٨٧	11	سببًا. Read سبب.
١٩٧	14	مزمومين. Read مزمومان.
٢٠٢	16	يخب. Read يخب with the MSS.
٢٠٦	16	وليُصْفى and وليسعى for وليُصَف and وليسع. Read
٢٠٧	14	فليكون for فليكن. Read
٢١١	16	فلان. Read فلان يكون.
٢١٦	20	فمن آثر . . . الفقر على الغنى. The reading of P. gives quite a good sense, if instead of الفقر the copyist read الفقْد.
٢٢٤	14	نفاذ is the better reading. Cf. ٢٢٥, 3.
٢٣٠	9	الامور. Read الامر.
٢٣١	22	بلج. Read ثلج.
٢٣٢	2	وان قلّدت امرك وجعلت مقادك الى حكمه. Read وجعلت معادك.
٢٣٤	6	فاذا ورد عليك مثل هذا ارجع الى عقلك and فارجع. Read فسَيُورِيك فساد هذا المذهب فسيريك = فسَيُورِيك. At least one example of رأى as the fourth conjugation of أَوْرَى occurs in a MS. dated A.H. 548 of the <i>Kitāb al-Lumā'</i> by Abú Naṣr al-Sarrāj.
٢٣٦	19	تصل. Read عسى تصل.
٢٣٨	7	فالا. Read فال.
٢٣٨	16	بفعله. Read فعّله.
٢٤٠	1	فيصحّ لك الحقّ ويتلج لك اليقين. Read فيصح and (or) ويتلج.

- page line
 ۳۵۱ 4 المكاره. The best MSS. have אלאכרה, which seems to stand for الأبدية in the sense of "an abominable sin".
- ۳۵۷ 1 انصاف. Read انصافاً.
- ۳۵۶ 8 زهاد مكملون منقطعون الخ. The manuscript readings show that متبتلون should be substituted for مكملون.
- ۳۵۱ 12 Read الناطقين for الناطقون.

Many of these mistakes are merely of grammatical importance, but I am bound to say that in other places, which have not been indicated above, emendation is needed in order to make the meaning of the text intelligible. Of course, the difficulties arising from the use of Hebrew script by copyists whose knowledge of Arabic was imperfect are extremely great. This must be taken into account in estimating the value of the editor's work. If it sometimes falls short of the highest standard, he has cleared the ground effectively and his labours are worthy of cordial recognition. The Introduction can be praised unreservedly as an original dissertation throwing new light on the spiritual and literary affinities of medieval Judaism and Islam.

R. A. N.

BILDERMAPPE MIT 273 ABBILDUNGEN SAMT ERKLÄRUNGEN ZUR RELIGION BABYLONIENS UND ASSYRIENS, besonders in Anschluss und als Ergänzung zu Jastrow's Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens zusammengestellt und erklärt von MORRIS JASTROW, jr. 24 Textblätter und 56 Tafeln. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1912.

His great work upon the religion having come to an end, the pictures bearing upon the subject, which did not appear in the course of the publication, now follow in the

form of an album. As we learn from the descriptive text (114 columns), these fall into twelve divisions—Sumerian and Babylonian racial types; gods and goddesses; their symbols; demons; ritual; mythological representations; etc. Unfortunately, the reproductions are far from being as good as the original pictures from which they were taken, largely owing, probably, to their being printed in red, and that of a tint which few will find pleasing. It may be following the usual rut, but adherence to everyday black and white produces the most satisfactory results.

Among the best pictures are the little seated figure of Gudea and the Elamite stele of Naram-Sin. It is doubtful whether the bas-relief of the same king in the Museum of Constantinople (No. 3), with its damaged face, fulfils the object of showing the type. The Bismaya head (old Semitic type), though faint and wanting in detail, is good. Among the deities the most noteworthy are the figure of Ištar with a remarkable coiffure (No. 25); the bronze bell with demons and other figures in relief, probably used in a temple to charm away evil spirits likely to torment the sick (Nos. 70, 70a); the liver for augurial purposes, with the diagram identifying the various parts (Nos. 102-3); and the figure grasping a "boomerang" and holding a struggling lion—one of the glories of the Louvre—identified, probably wrongly, with Gilgameš (No. 121). Nos. 125-226 are copies of cylinder-seals which, notwithstanding their sketchiness, are exceedingly valuable. The descriptions of these are by Dr. William Hayes Ward, who refers specially to that in which the sun-god, seated, rides in a boat of which each end is a human figure (No. 130). Speaking of the cylinders depicting men struggling with animals, Dr. Hayes Ward notes that all the animals of the forests of Elam—bisons, lions, leopards, antelopes, ibexes, and stags—are to be seen, but in the time of Sargon of Agadé

only the wild ox and the lion appear. No. 149, which Dr. Ward refers to, shows these animals captive in the hands of the so-called Gilgameš and Êabani (two words engraved on the seal; however, seem to give their names as *Ši-ti-me* and *Hu-du-du*), who hold them up in triumph by their hind legs. The cylinder-seal of Urzana of Muṣaṣir, described in the Journal of this Society for July last (p. 602) as showing a winged genius holding by the necks two ostriches, receives illustration in No. 197 of this selection, where a royal personage in Assyrian costume seizes one of these birds by the tail, and what is apparently a smaller one is hopping forward in front. One of the finest cylinder-seals is that showing Gudea, viceroy of Lagaš, led into the presence of the deity (Nin-Girsu), whom he worshipped. The corpus of mythological scenes in this part is good and thoroughly representative.

It would be difficult to improve either upon the selection of pictures or the descriptions, which will appeal to those to whom the volumes dealing with the Babylonian religion would be too extensive and detailed.

T. G. PINCHES.

BABYLONIAN RECORDS IN THE LIBRARY OF J. PIERPONT MORGAN, edited by ALBERT T. CLAY. Part II: Legal Documents from Erech dated in the Seleucid Era (312-65 B.C.), by ALBERT T. CLAY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Yale University. New York: privately printed, 1913.

From the introduction we learn that the fifty-six inscriptions published in this work have been selected from a group of more than a hundred, mostly of large size, and that they bear dates from the 8th to the 173rd years of the era. They were doubtless found by Arabs in the ruins of Erech, at which city they are dated. The photographs at the end of the volume show that

they are magnificent products of the scribes of the time, and, like those in the British Museum, they are impressed, generally on the edges, with a number of pointed and oval seals, photolithographed in the book, to the number of 228.

The introduction contains some valuable notes upon the chronological material these texts contain, and which make corrections of the received data possible. On p. 13 the author quotes the equivalent date, "109th year of Arisak' the king, which is the 173rd year" (of the Seleucid era). Elsewhere the name of Arsaces is written *Aršakaa*, which is probably more correct than the above. The pronunciation at Erech would, therefore, seem to have been Arisak'a, or (as in other texts) Arsak'a. Interesting are the Babylonian renderings of about two dozen Greek names, in which Alexippos appears as *Aleksēuppusu*, Athēnadēs as *Atanēdusu* (*Athanēdos*), Dēmētrios as *Dēmīdirēsu* and *Dimetiria*,¹ etc. In *Niq-qūlamūsu* = Nikoleos, Professor Oertel does not think that the *m* (= *w*) represents the digamma, but that it is rather a glide-vowel. Compare *Ištumegu* (*Išturwegu*) = Astyages.

The "Translations of selected texts" include an assignment of the interests which an individual enjoyed in connexion with temple-income; a warranty-deed, in which a man sells property to the wife of another; a deed of partition; a deed of exchange; a deed of release, guaranteeing that no claim will be made with reference to property transferred; and a deed in which Nikanur (Nicanor) dedicates his five-year-old slave-girl as an offering to the "house of gods" (*bīt ilāni*) of Erech, for Anu and Anatum, the god and goddess of the city. No. 25 is described as a bill of sale of a slave, recording that his right hand had been branded for a second time. In the translation, however, the word used by the author is "stamped", which renders the Babylonian *šaṭrat*, "written."

¹ Other tablets give the name as *Dimitri* (= *Dēmētri*).

The indices include "Personal Names" and the "Names of Deities" therein. Anu, the principal god of Erech, was the great favourite, Ištar and Nanaa, the goddesses of the city, coming next. There is a catalogue of the inscriptions, and a list of the names of the owners of the 228 seals.

But it is impossible to notice all the interesting points in these inscriptions, which, being less exclusively Babylonian, possess, perhaps, a greater general interest than most Babylonian texts. Assyriologists will not only appreciate the enterprise of the heirs of Mr. Pierpont Morgan in publishing them, but will recognize the thoroughness of Professor Clay's work and the excellence of his copies.

T. G. PINCHES.

EPIGRAPHES ARAMÉENS. Etude des Textes Araméens gravés ou écrits sur des tablettes cunéiformes, par LOUIS DELAPORTE. Paris: Geuthner, 1912.

The importance of these short inscriptions may be estimated from the fact that they now number nearly 120. Unfortunately they are short, and do not give us by any means the vocabulary which we should like to have. Whether this will ever be supplied by the discovery of more and longer inscriptions is impossible to say, but in the presence of the surprises which Assyriology from time to time affords, it is by no means improbable.

All who know M. L. Delaporte's work will naturally expect something systematic and thorough, and they will not be disappointed. He has gathered his material from all the available books, including even the three-letter dockets contained in my *Outline of Assyrian Grammar*. Apart from the dialect, these short inscriptions are chiefly interesting on account of the names they contain—transcriptions, and therefore confirmations, of the readings of the wedge-written forms, which are often expressed

by means of ideographs, either of ordinary words or of names of gods. In his Introduction of twelve pages all the important points of morphology, orthography, and grammar are given, and show what really is known at the present time concerning these unsatisfactorily short inscriptions. In the question of the sibilants he is practically at one with the writer of this notice, Assyrian š becoming □ and s becoming 𐤔. In the matter of the transcription of the Assyrian 𐤗𐤖, *Ištar*, by 𐤗𐤖, he notes that this latter is probably not an abbreviation, and that Rawlinson and Oppert compared therewith the Greek name of the Babylonian Juno, given in Hesychius as Ἀδά, and in support of this he quotes the transcription of Aššur by the Syriac ܐܫܘܪ, concerning which something might be said (see the notes below). With regard to the transcription of 𐤍 *Nin-ip* by 𐤍𐤏𐤔, M. Delaporte contents himself with simply quoting the readings of others for the vocalization: *Anwušt* or *Enwušt* (Jensen), *En-nammašti*, "lord of every animated being" (Halévy), *unaštu* (Dhorm), *En-ušati*, "lord of help," "physician" (Radau). My own and Professor Prince's comparison with *Ēnu-réštū*, as well as Pognon's *Anušat* (adopted by Thureau-Dangin), do not appear, and probably the former is worth ignoring completely.

Though of considerable value, these docketts at times mislead, for only one of these suggestions can be right. Moreover, they often present difficulties, as may be judged from No. 101 (*Corpus Ins. Sem.* 65). Here the first word of line 1 is not the Aramaic for "*Cautio*", but 𐤍𐤏𐤔, "kettle," as in the Babylonian text, *išten êru dūdā*, "one (brazen) kettle"; Oppert, "*Unum vas ceneum*."

Referring to one of the tablets which I have quoted (*Outline*, p. 62), the author makes the note "Texte cunéiforme inédit", and the same might have been added to his No. 45. This omission I now fill up (see below), adding a text implying that my reading of 𐤔𐤗 as *tal*,

and not GAB, has some justification, though it cannot be regarded as conclusive.

Meagre as the material is, M. Delaporte has been able to give a list containing no less than 220 words and names. It is greatly to be wished that this number could be increased, and as it is just possible that other similar inscriptions are already known, additions to the vocabulary might even now be made.

A praiseworthy monograph.

T. G. PINCHES.

Notes suggested by the above

Bûr-Sin, son of Dungi, who reigned about 2,300 years B.C., had a son named Ξ -† 𒌦 𒌦 and a daughter Ξ Ξ -† 𒌦 𒌦 ,¹ probably in honour of their grandfather, and I offer for criticism a rendering of the former name, which would have a bearing upon the comparison of 𒌦 = Istar with the Greek Ἀδᾶ , probably pronounced *Adhá*, and the parallel of *Aššur* reproduced in Aramaic (and known in Arabic) as *Athur*.

Now the second of these two names has to be read *Šat-a.Dungi*, "She of Dungi," "Dungi's devotee," or the like, that king having been deified some time before his death. This seems to indicate that the first name, that of her brother, should be read *Šu-a.Dungi*, "He of Dungi," "Dungi's man," or "devotee". If this be the case, it is probable that all the names containing Ξ , *šu*; as their first element should be read thus, and not as *Gimil* (*Gimil-Dungi*), and in the same way *Šu-Sin* for *Gimil-Sin*, *Šu-Istar* for *Gimil-Istar*, etc.

This might bear comparison with the Arabic ذُو , fem. ذَات , "lord or possessor of," modified by a negligent pronunciation from an original ثُو , ثَات ; cf. *mašālu* = مِثْل , etc.

¹ Data from tablets belonging to Mrs. T. G. Pinches.

The text of the tablet bearing the Aramaic אשכ (82-3-23, 527) is as follows:—

(1) 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 (2) 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 (3) 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 (4) 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓, (1) 2 “gab-birds”, month . . . (2) day 8th, year 12th; (3) 2 “gab-birds” (4) month Sebat, day 9th.

That accompanying the docket אשכ (82-3-23, 268) runs thus:—

(1) 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 (2) 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 (3) 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏, (1) 5 “gab-birds”, month Sivan(?), (2) day 3rd, year 12th; (3) 2 “gab-birds”, have been given.

The text suggesting the reading *tahhu* instead of “gab-bird” (82-7-14, 886, no docket) is as follows:—

(1) 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 (2) 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 (3) 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 (4) 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙 𐤚 𐤛 𐤜 𐤝 𐤞 𐤟 𐤠 𐤡 𐤢 𐤣 𐤤 𐤥 𐤦 𐤧 𐤨 𐤩 𐤪 𐤫 𐤬 𐤭 𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 𐤴 𐤵 𐤶 𐤷 𐤸 𐤹 𐤺 𐤻 𐤼 𐤽 𐤾 𐤿

(1) 43 *tahhu* (2) for Ārdîa (3) in the store-house. (4) Month Sivan, year 15th.

The large number of the *tahhu* also points to something different from the GAB *hu*.

KAWI-BALINEESCH-NEDERLANDSCH WOORDENBOEK. Door Dr. H. N. VAN DER TUUK, † 17 Aug., 1894. Uitgegeven ingevolge Gouvernements-besluit van 14 Februari, 1893, No. 3. Deel iv. Batavia; Landsdrukkerij, 1912.

The issue of part iv of the great Kawi Dictionary completes the work. To give an idea of the gigantic nature of the undertaking, I need only mention that this volume (which is, however, somewhat larger than any of its predecessors) runs to over 1,000 closely, though clearly, printed pages. We have now, therefore, a full lexicon to the Kawi language and literature, and in this respect the work will never be superseded. Its great drawback is that without a considerable previous knowledge of Kawi and Balinese it is a very difficult book to use. But that

difficulty is inherent in the scheme of the work, and the study of Kawi is not an easy one anyhow. It has to be approached through the Balinese glosses, which preserve the traditional meanings of the words of the old language, and this method has been embodied in Van der Tuuk's dictionary. For my own part, speaking as a mere amateur in Kawi study, I must confess to the regret that the learned author did not see fit to give the Dutch equivalents of all the words and phrases he quotes. That, however, though lightening the student's task, would have increased enormously the weight of an already ponderous work. It would also have doubled its cost and postponed still further the date of its completion, already long delayed (for the first volume appeared in 1897). So we must take it as it stands, and be thankful.

This *magnum opus* will always remain as a fitting memorial to the great scholar and indefatigable worker who planned it and collected the materials for it. It must not, however, be forgotten that he died before a single page of the work had been published in print: the first volume opened with his obituary. And honourable mention must be made of those who took up the task which death compelled him to leave unfinished: Dr. J. Brandes, himself a ripe scholar, now also removed by death, to the great and lasting regret of all Indonesian students, saw the first three volumes through the press; Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, Mr. D. van Hinloopen Labberton, and Dr. D. A. Rinkes between them have finally brought out this fourth and last volume. Great credit, too, is due to the Dutch Government in the East for its enlightened generosity in financing such a commercially unremunerative and purely scientific work as this is.

The book is admirably printed, which is more than can be said of all the products of printing presses in the East, even when they are conducted under the supervision of Governments.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE LANGUAGES OF BORNEO. By SIDNEY H. RAY, M.A.
(=The Sarawak Museum Journal, Vol. I, No. 4.)
Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1913.

This monograph is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Adolf Bernhard Meyer, who died on February 5, 1911, and is largely based on his manuscript materials. But Mr. Ray has added a great deal from other sources, mainly his own notes, and has put the matter into its present form. After a brief Introduction the geographical distribution of the Bornean languages is given in considerable detail. Then follow a most valuable bibliography, a few notes on grammar, with lists of prepositions and numerals, and finally three series of vocabularies, arranged in comparative form, preceded by a list of languages and authorities and an index to the English words. The latter number 211, and although they are not fully represented in all the dialects (of which there are about 100), the mass of lexicographical material is very considerable.

So far as I can gather from a somewhat cursory examination, the number of actually distinct languages here represented can hardly be stated with accuracy at present. Mr. Ray appears to reckon about thirty, and for the time being one cannot do better than accept his figure. But it seems not unlikely that when our knowledge becomes more extensive and intimate some of the isolated dialects may be found to group themselves together. On the other hand, a few hitherto unrecorded languages may possibly some day be discovered in the far interior of the island. This collection, at any rate, serves a useful purpose in bringing so much scattered material together and facilitating its classification. It should also stimulate local scholars to undertake a more thorough and complete examination of the linguistic material lying, as it were, at their very doors. For only very few of the Bornean languages have been at all adequately studied

as yet. In most cases we have nothing but more or less scrappy vocabularies, without anything of the nature of texts, not even short sentences. Of course most of these languages are unwritten (the Bornean tribes never adopted the use of writing as the nations of Sumatra and Java did); but popular stories, poems, and the like exist in plenty and should be put on record.

In that way only can we hope to learn the grammar of these dialects. Mr. Ray's grammatical notes are the weakest part of his book: that, however, is not his fault, but simply due to the lack of material. Some grammatical information can be, and has been, extracted from the vocabularies themselves. To Mr. Ray's notes I may add that the infix *-in-* is exemplified by some of his dialects. I would also observe that it is by no means safe to assume that the verbal prefix *ng-*, etc., is an abbreviation of *měng-*. In the matter of phonetics there are several points which he has not made quite clear. If by the "abrupt guttural stop" he means, as I assume he does, the glottal check (or what the Malays indicate by final *k*), then I fail to see its resemblance with the German *ch* in *sich*. The distinction he makes between *ā* and *a*, viz. that the former is pronounced as in *father* and the latter as in *cart*, seems rather ambiguous. Is it a question of relative length only, or of a modification of the vowel, such as is produced by our dwindled Southern English *r*, or both? I take it from him that *ā* really has the sound heard in *hut*, though this is not what one would expect in an Indonesian group of languages. But I am aware that the Bornean languages indulge in curious vowel modifications.

The bibliography is surprisingly full. It includes, however, a certain number of items available only in MS. Why No. 216, which deals with a language of the Sula Islands (to the eastward of Celebes), was included does not appear, except that it formed part of Dr. Meyer's collection. It does not seem to fall appropriately into

a bibliography of Bornean languages. The name Milano, as I have stated elsewhere, can be traced back certainly to the middle of the fourteenth century (Nāgarakr̥tāgama) and probably to the early part of the thirteenth (Chao Ju-kua).¹ If I may hazard a conjecture as to its etymology, I suggest that it is derived from the word *danau*, a very widespread Indonesian word, meaning "lake", "sea", or merely "water" in general. It is interesting to note that the national name Dayak seems to be explained by *daya*, meaning "land" or "up-country", as opposed to "sea" or "sea-coast". If that is right—and Mr. Ray seems to accept it—the name had better be written *Daya'*, as in that case the glottal check would not be the remnant of a dwindled final *k*.² The same explanation would cover the name Kadayan and its corruption Kayan. The suggestion is Mr. C. A. Bampfylde's. It may be remarked that *daya* still survives even in Malay in a sense opposed to *laut*, "sea," viz. in the expression *barat daya* (S.W.), as against *barat laut* (N.W.); the names of the points of the compass in Indonesia often embody this opposition, as Kern pointed out long ago.

Mr. Ray is to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work. I hope that he will have an opportunity some day of going on with it and dealing systematically with some of the questions which it raises, but does not answer. We should like to know, amongst other things, whether the languages of Borneo (apart from certain of the northern ones that appear to link up closely with the Philippine languages) constitute a linguistic unity within the Indonesian family, or merely a geographical one. So far as phonetic peculiarities are concerned, it would seem from

¹ There is no sound foundation for the date A.D. 1276 quoted from Crawford as that of the conversion of Malacca to Islam. I have been at some pains to show in various papers on Malay chronology that this date is a century or so too early.

² The glottal check does not seem to have been used universally in this word. I have come across the spelling *Dyer* (MS. in the India Office Library, by J. Burn, Pontianak, 1811) [= *Daya* or *Dayö*].

this comparative vocabulary that there is diversity rather than agreement among them. Such words as those for *blood, coconut, egg, lake, leaf, lip, live, maggot, new, nose, paddle, path, prawn, and rice*, show that the two principal laws of phonetic correspondence in the Indonesian family divide the Bornean dialects into sections agreeing, in this respect, some with Malay, others with Balinese, others again with Javanese, and so on. An analysis from the point of view of vocabulary, for which I cannot spare the time, might throw further light on this point. But, unfortunately, the real criterion, grammar, is not available, and until this gap is filled it will hardly be possible to deal satisfactorily and finally with the problem.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE ROMANCE OF A MALAYAN TIN FIELD. By E. J. VALLENTINE. London: The Mining Journal, 1913.

This little book is concerned with the romantic memories that cluster round the tin-mines of Intan, which are situated in an outlying corner of Upper Perak, close to the sources of the Patani River and the Kēdah border. The district, originally part of the State of Perak, was for many years a bone of contention between it and the neighbouring State of Rēman, a part of Patani and as such under the suzerainty of Siam. By a recent rectification of boundaries the mines have once more returned to the Perak jurisdiction.

The author's story, though it does not claim to be history in the strictest sense, contains much that is of interest, and throws a lurid light on the somewhat savage and sanguinary conditions that prevailed in this part of the world under unrestricted native rule. In that respect there does not seem to have been much to choose between the Malays and the Siamese in their various quarrels and intrigues. Mr. Vallentine says of his subject-matter, and rightly, "Here is robust material for the

novelist." But it may be doubted whether, for instance, the life-history of the Perak princess who, like some female spider, was divorced twice and "widowed" eleven times, would not be considered somewhat too "tough" even for the most realistic of latter-day writers of fiction. In the many struggles for the possession of these mines women seem to have played a great part; and that is quite in keeping with what both history and legend tell us of their influence in the Northern States of the Peninsula, particularly in Patani. But, for the most part, their methods do not appear to have been such as would be likely to make many converts to the cause of feminism.

Tin-mining in the Malay Peninsula is far older than the author seems to suppose, being attested by Arab writers of the ninth century A.D. Its present importance is very considerable, seeing that half the tin supply of the world is derived from this source. It is interesting to note that part of the Intan tin-field is now being worked by European companies. In the past the industry has been almost entirely in the hands of Chinese, whose processes were often crude and wasteful. The Malays, as a rule, merely drew royalties and tolls out of the proceeds.

The book is adorned by a number of excellent illustrations, and a map showing the position of the mines and the adjoining portions of the neighbouring states will be of use to the general reader.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ADMONITIONS OF THE INSTRUCTRESS IN THE PALACE.

A painting by Ku K'ai-chih in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, reproduced in coloured woodcut. Text by LAURENCE BINYON.

It is somewhat over ten years ago since the British Museum acquired a rather battered, ancient-looking,

Chinese roll-picture, the great value of which was at first unsuspected. To the uncritical eye this painting on silk may not have appeared strikingly different from hundreds of others which are in circulation. Fortunately, the Museum possessed in Mr. Binyon a highly gifted connoisseur, who had devoted many years to the study of Chinese and Japanese art; so that, without knowing the name of the painter, and without any clue to the date of its production, he was able at once to recognize it as a masterpiece. Later on, when the picture was submitted to the examination of Chinese scholars, it was found to bear the signature of Ku K'ai-chih, who lived in the fourth century of our era, and is generally admitted to have been one of the supremely great artists of China. This discovery, though interesting, did not at first excite any great hopes. All who have had to deal with Chinese paintings know what extreme caution must be exercised in assigning them to any particular master, for, even if there be no intentional fraud, it is quite the usual thing for copies of an old painting to bear only the original signature. Professor Hirth, then, writing in 1905, was undoubtedly on the safe side in saying that it was "probably a copy", although he had not seen the painting in question. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he would have been right. But, since that time, the evidence in favour of its being not a copy but the original itself has accumulated so steadily as to be now almost overwhelming; very little doubt remains that the picture is actually from the brush of the great master who flourished 1,500 years ago. For the details of this evidence I must refer the reader to Mr. Binyon's excellent little monograph. It may, however, be roughly summarized under four heads.

1. *The seals*, of which an extraordinary number—some hundred or more—are impressed on various parts of the roll, tell us that the picture formed part of the collection of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who prized it exceedingly

and caused it to be remounted. The oldest seal yet deciphered is that of the Emperor Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (1100-26). Mr. Binyon speaks of one older still, that of the statesman and historian Sung Ch'i, who died in 1061. But this, I fancy, must be an error arising from a too hasty inspection on the part of one of his informants. There is a seal, stamped on the original silk, which reads *Tzŭ ching chên pi*, "A rare treasure of Tzŭ-ching," and Tzŭ-ching was certainly Sung Ch'i's literary appellation. That it does not refer to him, however, in this case, appears from another seal in which the surname is given as well: *Hsiang Tzŭ-ching*. This was a noted virtuoso and collector of the sixteenth century. At all events, it is clear that the picture was accepted as genuine by the best critics of the Sung period, only 700 years after the painter's death.

2. *The fabric* of the roll has been examined by the British Museum expert, Mr. S. W. Littlejohn, and is found to have been extensively repaired with fine Sung silk, though with such extraordinary delicacy and skill that the repairs can in many cases hardly be detected. The original silk is not of the same texture, and, of course, much more ancient. So far, the evidence goes to show that the painting is considerably older than the Sung dynasty, but it does not conclusively point to a period earlier than the T'ang.

3. The next thing to be noticed is *the written text*, which the different scenes of the painting are intended to illustrate. These sentences, as Professor Chavannes first pointed out, are taken from a literary composition by Chang Hua of the third century entitled "The Admonitions of the Preceptress in the Palace". They were inserted at a later date in an ink which is different from that used by the painter himself, and can be assigned with fair certainty, on palæographic and other grounds, to the T'ang dynasty, which began in 618 A.D. The signature,

according to Mr. Binyon, is in a different hand, but on that point there may be room for doubt. In any case, it is of minor importance, as ancient pictures were commonly unsigned and the name often added later.

4. *The style* of the painting will perhaps form the most convincing argument in favour of its genuineness from the point of view of the trained art critic. It agrees closely with the appreciations of the master's work which we find in Chinese literature; and there is one feature in particular which deserves attention: while the portrayal of character and expression in the human figures is masterly, the one piece of landscape introduced is rudimentary and archaic, such as could not possibly have been executed after the time of Wang Wei, who was born at the end of the seventh century.

It remains to add that the present reproduction has been carried out with the utmost fidelity and spirit. The mellow tone of the old silk has been successfully imitated, and the figures are so lifelike as to be practically indistinguishable from the originals. Not only the written characters, but all the seals have been exquisitely reproduced in their varying shades of red. Both the labour and the skill demanded by such work must have been very great. One can only wonder at the moderate price (seven guineas) for which this magnificent specimen of an "Old Master" can be obtained.

LIONEL GILES.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA. Part I: From the Earliest Times to the Manchu Conquest, A.D. 1644. By HERBERT H. GOWEN, D.D., F.R.G.S., Lecturer on Oriental History at the University of Washington. 8vo; illustrated. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1913. \$1.20 net; by mail \$1.30.

The book is intended to awaken the interest of schools and colleges in China's history, and to bring into more

prominence ancient times in comparison with the modern foreign relations of the country.

This epitome of the principal events of Chinese history is well written and well adapted to the purposes for which it is intended. We have read the whole book with a most critical eye and would only note a few things for future editions: on p. 65 the Fu-tsz in Kung Fu-tsz is a title of respect accorded to a literary man; the posthumous titles of emperors are given in many cases as their names; Yang Chu and Lieh-tsz appear as the names of one person, the former's philosophy being attributed to the latter.

J. DYER BALL.

THE INNER LIFE AND THE TAO TEH KING. By C. H. A. BJERREGAARD, Librarian, New York Public Library. The Theosophical Publishing Co. of New York, 1912.

The contents of this book were delivered originally as lectures. The aim is a mystic interpretation of that wonderful little gem, the Tao Teh King, but we have also this Taoist Classic viewed not only from its mystical standpoint but from a theosophical one as well. Many of the salient points in Lao-tsz's treatise are brought into prominence and compared with old-world pronouncements and the sayings of mystics of the West, and naturally found to agree, for Lao-tsz was a mystic of the mystics, and the pioneer and father of mystics in the Far East as far as writings are concerned.

Mr. Bjerregaard has steeped himself in the Tao Teh King for more than thirty years, and the attitude he takes towards it will be understood from the following quotation from pp. 103 and 104: "You must transplant this book into your own home, into your heart, root and all, and, to do that, you must go out into the Open to learn how

Nature works. This book is not merely a book as thousands of others. It looks like a book. We call it a book from its appearance . . . Some future days when you and I shall see a new heaven and a new earth, we will be playing the sentences of this book on instruments, and its accords will bring us in harmony with the root of existence."

There are some beautiful passages in the book, but much of it eludes serious criticism, for there is an immense amount of transcendentalism in it which many would stigmatize as rubbish, and with which the man of common sense can find no affinity; in short, much of the book will prove caviare to all but theosophists and those who put Nature-worship in the place of religion. Nature is evidently to do everything for one, and there is a sad lack of apprehension of the God of Nature Himself. It is of course difficult or impossible to find a personal God in Lao-tsz. The author tells us that "it is difficult to define Tao and Teh fully and satisfactorily to a Western critical and intellectual mind", and one questions whether pages of mysticism veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbol will bring one much nearer to a comprehension of the incomprehensible. Let us rather stand in awe before the visions of this old-world Taoist mystic of things unutterable, which language fails to reveal, and with simple minds receive them into our hearts without a multiplication of rhapsodies and "roundabout" talk which our author speaks of. At the same time it is the mystic who may see deeper into Lao-tsz's meanings; but this is no reason for Mr. Bjerregaard's diatribe against some of the former translators of the Tao Teh King. He says he has "avoided the scholastic and distorted translations where the ideographic interpretation was the obvious one", and "unless the Chinese characters are interpreted both as to sound and to ideographic form, they can never be rightly understood". This is absurd,

for it is quite possible for a man to learn the Chinese written language as he might learn one of the dead languages of the ancient past and translate the characters without knowing the sounds and without to a great extent knowing the tones. Mr. Bjerregaard's two examples (p. 97) do not apply to translations from the Chinese, but only to those foreigners speaking the language who do not give the correct tones to the words they use.

J. DYER BALL.

YANG CHU'S GARDEN OF PLEASURE. Translated from the Chinese by Professor ANTON FORKE, Ph.D., etc. With an Introduction by HUGH CRANMER-BYNG. Wisdom of the East Series. London: John Murray, 1912.

The Chinese Philosopher Yang Chu lived about 300 B.C. Not much is known of his life, and but scanty literary remains of his exist. They comprise a few tales and anecdotes and the present work, which is found embedded in Lieh Tzū's works, forming their seventh chapter. Dr. Forke compares his philosophy to a study in scarlet and black: the scarlet typifying the joy of life, and the black the pessimism of the philosopher. Many of his sayings might almost be described as paraphrases of "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die". Life and death exist, and consequently are to be accepted. From life let each take the pleasures which appeal to the tastes of each. Individualism is the chief thing; nourish this. Renounce nothing; strive for nothing. Let the senses guide the life; let nature have full rein. Enjoy life while it lasts and wait calmly for death, which ends all. Some of his views appear to be similar to some of Nietzsche's enunciations.

J. DYER BALL.

TAOIST TEACHINGS FROM THE BOOK OF LIEH TZŪ.
Translated from the Chinese, with Introduction and
Notes, by LIONEL GILES, M.A. London: John
Murray, 1912.

Mr. Lionel Giles, who has been busy for some time past with the works of Lieh Tzū, has now given to the public the results of some of his labours in these selections.

Lieh Tzū is one of the Chinese Taoist philosophers, and, like many who have left their mark on the world of thought, but little is known of his life. He lived in the fourth century B.C., and seems to have forestalled the aeronauts, as Chuang Tzū informs us he could "ride upon the wind"

The parables and allegorical tales in Lieh Tzū are particularly interesting, being well told and to the point.

Extracts from the best commentary on Lieh Tzū are availed of to elucidate certain points in the text.

The Introduction contains some account of Taoism and notice of a few of its chief writers. Mr. Giles divides the Taoist Classics into three periods: the primitive, the development, and the degeneration stages.

J. DYER BALL.

MADROLLE'S GUIDE BOOKS. NORTHERN CHINA: THE
VALLEY OF THE BLUE RIVER. KOREA. Paris and
London: Hachette & Co., 1912.

Madrolle's Guide Books to China are deservedly well known. This is a second edition of the one on North China. It is completely revised and brought up to date, for such changes have taken place of late in China, including among them a facility for visiting places unknown before, that considerable additions have had to be made to the book. Railways now take sightseers in a few hours or days to cities and important places which a few years ago it took weeks or months to reach.

The sinologues M. Chavannes and M. Vissière contribute descriptions, the former of the sacred mountain T'ai Shán, the Buddhist grottoes of Lung Mên, and the Wu T'ai Shán, and from the latter there is a translation of a Chinese "General Description of the Empire".

The "General Information and Practical Hints" will be found most useful to the traveller, being full and complete.

In the very full account of Peking is a most interesting description of the worship paid by the Emperors at the Temple of Heaven and other places—worship now a thing of the past, so rapid and fundamental are the changes taking place in China.

In North and Central China four provinces come in for attention respectively, as well as Manchuria, Mongolia, and Korea.

The book is well furnished with maps and plans.

J. DYER BALL.

THE ISLAND DEPENDENCIES OF JAPAN. An Account of the Islands that have passed under Japanese Control since the Restoration, 1867–1912. A series of monographs reprinted from the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, with additions from native sources, translations, and new information. By CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.A.S. Japan, etc. London: Eugène L. Morice, 1913. Price 5s.

The reign of H.I.M. Meiji Tenno formed the background on which the rising sun of Japan's modern developments rose. During his reign of forty-four years not only did Japan embrace the civilizations of the Western world and adapt them to her requirements, but she showed to the world, from which she had secluded herself in the past, her capabilities, her military prowess, her desire for friendship with enlightened nations, and the possibilities

of her future. At the same time her empire extended and embraced those isles of the sea so admirably described in this book, additions to be highly prized even in this empire of four thousand isles.

The title and sub-titles of the book explain its contents. The six chapters deal with Formosa, the Loo Choo and Bonin Islands, the Kuriles, Saghalien, the Pescadores, and other islands near Formosa. These chapters are preceded by an appreciation of the late Emperor of Japan and an introduction, while an appendix on Yezo, and another on the sighting of the South Sea, close the book.

Under the heading of Formosa we have a description of the steps the Japanese are taking to press on the line of advance against the scourge of that fair island—the head-hunters. This silent war against savagery is being pursued with unremitting care, but apparently it will be many a long day before the tough task will be completed. The few pages devoted to camphor, one of the most valuable products of the island, are interesting. No less than 10,000 camphor-trees are felled annually. Other industries are enlarged upon and the fauna and mineral wealth noted, as well as many other things of interest. An account of the past, as regards the island and its inhabitants, forms an historical setting to the narrative. The Japanese are doing their best to stamp out opium-smoking; 40,000 smokers have abandoned the vice in the course of ten years.

In the same way the products, resources, and industries, etc., of the other islands are described, and a large amount of information concerning them given within a comparatively small space—information about these out-of-the-way parts of the world it would be very difficult to obtain otherwise.

The book is illustrated with seven special maps and drawings by Mr. Salwey. The photograph of "An Ami

Chief and his Wife" is good and interesting. It is only necessary to add that the book is a large octavo, neatly bound. On p. 21, l. 4, "dynasty" should be "reign"

J. DYER BALL.

LA VECCHIA CINA. By CARLO PUINI. Firenze:
Libreria della Voce, 1913.

This is a dainty little volume of 319 pages, bound in Imperial yellow, as is fitting that a book on China should be. It is divided into two parts under the headings of "Etnologia e Sociologia" and "Religione e Filosofia", while under sixteen different chapters are gathered together information and descriptions of the outstanding features of the social and religious life of this ancient people inhabiting the vast territories of old China.

The work is not from the pen of a tyro, as the author has previously written on Buddhism, Confucius, and Laotsū, Tibet, and other subjects.

Under the title of the present book Signor Puini has brought together articles written by him which were published in different reviews at various times, and thus different aspects of Chinese thought and life are united together in this small volume.

The author has devoted much time and thought to this work and has read much and widely to fit himself for his labours. The book is thus no superficial account of the Chinese people, as so many books are, but one which will well repay perusal by the author's fellow-countrymen who wish to acquire a knowledge of the foundations on which Chinese character and life are built.

J. DYER BALL

OBITUARY NOTICE

JACOB SAMUEL SPEYER

By the death of Dr. J. S. Speyer, which occurred very suddenly in the morning of November 1, Sanskrit philology has sustained a loss which will be widely felt.

Jacob Samuel Speyer was born at Amsterdam on December 20, 1849. There he first attended the Gymnasium, and in 1865, at the age of not yet 16, he joined the Municipal College known as the "Athenæum Illustre", which since then has developed into the University of Amsterdam. After studying classics at Amsterdam for three years, he continued his studies at the University of Leyden, where Dr. Hendrik Kern then occupied the newly founded chair for Sanskrit. It was Kern, the great master of languages, who thenceforth became his chief guide. On December 21, 1872, at the age of 23, Speyer took his degree as Doctor of Philosophy on a thesis entitled *De cerimonia apud Indos quæ vocatur jātakarma*.

In November, 1873, the young doctor was called to teach Latin at the Gymnasium of Amsterdam, and from October 15, 1879 (i.e. from the date of its foundation), he became, in addition, attached to the Municipal University in that town as a Reader (Lector) of Sanskrit. In May, 1888, his Readership had been converted into an extraordinary Professorship for Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, when on December 19 of the same year he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Latin at the University of Groningen. He joined his new post on March 23 of the year following. After having lectured at Groningen for a period of fourteen years, Speyer was called to succeed his master, Dr. Kern, who, having reached the

age-limit of 70 fixed by the law, had to resign his Professorship of Sanskrit in the University of Leyden. Kern, the first and foremost Sanskritist of Holland, could not have found one worthier to succeed him than Speyer, on whom he ever looked as his principal pupil. During ten years Speyer taught at Leyden. He did not, like his master, live to reach the age of 70 and enjoy a well-earned rest. At the age of nearly 64 he died, only a few months after he had taken a prominent part in the celebration of Kern's 80th anniversary. The master has survived his favourite pupil.

Speyer's career as a teacher of Sanskrit at three out of the four universities of Holland extends over a period of thirty-four years. Those who have followed his lectures are unanimous as to the excellence of his teaching. They praise his clearness, his devotion, his never-failing patience. The number of his pupils who have taken their degree in Sanskrit is necessarily small, but includes some very prominent among the younger generation of Dutch scholars, like Dr. J. Huizinga, now Professor of History at Groningen, and Dr. B. Faddegon, Reader of Sanskrit at Amsterdam. The former, when speaking at his master's funeral on behalf of his fellow-pupils, declared that Speyer in no manner could better illustrate the ideal relationship between *guru* and *śishya* than through his own example.

It is, however, not Speyer's work as a teacher which will in the first place interest readers of this Journal, but his work as a writer. For through the latter his labours have borne fruit far beyond the somewhat narrow limits of his fatherland. That this has become possible is mainly due to the circumstance that Speyer wisely chose to write some of his leading contributions to Sanskrit scholarship in some language—English or German—more easily accessible to foreign colleagues than his native tongue.

In a time when the course of Sanskrit studies usually compels workers to restrict themselves to one particular parcel of that ever-widening field, one must be struck in the first place by the very vast range of Speyer's studies, which almost recalls the pioneer days of Von Schlegel and Wilson. Speyer combined in a remarkable degree the thorough and minute knowledge of the grammarian with the æsthetic taste of the *homme de lettres*. Indeed, he considered that without the former the right appreciation of literary beauties was an impossibility. His principal work in the department of grammar was his "Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax", which appeared in Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie*.

Speyer proved a true pupil of Kern's in that he paid special attention to the sacred lore of Indian Buddhism. After Kern had published his excellent edition of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, the famous Sanskrit collection of Buddhist birth-stories, it was Speyer who, through his English translation, rendered that remarkable work available to non-Sanskritists. It appeared as the first volume of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the Buddhists". Another important work of Speyer's in this department of Indian studies is his edition of the *Avadānaśataka*.

Closely related to the branch of Buddhist lore represented by the above-named two works are the big collections of fables and fairy tales, which are usually reckoned to belong to Brahmanical literature. To these Speyer devoted an exhaustive investigation, which, under the title *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, appeared in the Monographs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam (vol. viii, No. 5, 1908). On very sound grounds the author arrived at the conclusion that the *Brhatkathā*, the old Paśācī work now lost, on which the later collections are based, was in existence about A.D. 600 and that the date of its composition cannot be far removed from that limit.

In this connexion Speyer discussed also the date of another important production of Sanskrit literature, the historical play *Mudrārāksasa*, by Viśākhadatta. The best authorities had assigned this drama to the eighth or ninth century. According to Speyer's opinion it "is by four or five centuries older and must rank with the *Mṛcchakatikā* as the two most ancient plays of the Hindu theatre come to us". The author further conjectured that Viśākhadatta had taken the victory of Candragupta Maurya over the "barbarians" as the subject of his play in order to glorify a similar exploit by his royal patron, one of the two Candraguptas of the Gupta dynasty. This assumption is in full agreement with the prominence of art, both literary and plastic, during the period of the great Gupta emperors.

The drama was another branch of Sanskrit (and Prākṛit) literature which had great attractions for Speyer. It is significant that two of his pupils took their doctor's degree on a thesis the subject of which was taken from the ancient Hindu drama. Particularly Dr. Huizinga's "dissertation" on the *Vidūṣaka*, the clown of the ancient Indian stage, is a work which does great credit, not only to its author, but also to the master under whose guidance it was composed.

Professor Speyer contributed a considerable number of papers (mostly in Dutch) to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, of which he was a member since April, 1889. Some of his earlier papers deal with subjects borrowed from the Latin language, literature, and mythology. Among his Indian articles I mention his "Kritische Nachlese zu Aṣvaghosha's *Buddhacarita*" (Proceedings, ser. III, vol. xi, No. 3, 1895) and his "Notes on the text of *Saundarananda*, the poem of Aṣvaghosha, edited by Professor Haraprasād" (Proceedings, ser. IV, vol. vi, No. 2).

In the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* also Speyer published several of his papers on questions of

Sanskrit grammar and various other subjects. His last contribution to the *Zeitschrift* is entitled "Ein alt-javanischer mahāyānistischer Katechismus" (Bd. lxxvii, 1913). In this connexion I mention also a paper (in Dutch) on a Buddhist inscription from Java (Proceedings Royal Academy of Amsterdam, ser. IV, vol. vi, No. 2, 1904). The two last-mentioned papers show that the antiquities of Java also had been drawn within the compass of Speyer's studies. Though not exactly an archæologist himself, he fully appreciated the value of antiquarian research, and in his official capacity did much to promote this line of investigation in Dutch India. Dr. N. J. Krom, the present Director of Archæology in Java, was one of his pupils.

Professor Speyer was not one of those savants who jealously guard their learning within the inner circle of the initiated. He believed in popularizing his science, and many articles on Indian and allied subjects from his pen appeared in Dutch magazines intended for the educated public at large. There was, moreover, a special reason which induced Speyer to place his great learning at the disposal of his country and to act as a guide in a field of research so far removed, one would think, from modern life and its interests. It was the "theosophical" movement which of a sudden had given prominence to Indian philosophy and religion among the cultured in Holland as well as in other Western countries. Eastern mysticism couched in learned Sanskrit terms proved attractive to many minds whom dogmatic Christianity could no longer satisfy. The new religion inaugurated by Madame Blavatsky which pretended to provide the initiated with the quintessence of all the great world religions combined, but in reality reproduced certain Indian ideas adapted to Western use, was bound to be repulsive to one familiar with the ancient culture of India and well aware of its failings. The rapid growth of the

Theosophical Society was well calculated to rouse alarm in a man of such sound judgment and vast knowledge as Speyer, who as the official representative of Sanskrit learning at the chief University of Holland considered it his duty to raise a warning voice against the uncritical and wholesale surrender to Indian ideas, promulgated in a garbled shape by Western theosophists. This self-imposed task, both distasteful and thankless, he discharged in a series of lectures, which subsequently appeared in a volume entitled *De Indische theosophie en hare biteekenis voor ons* (Leiden, 1910). In it the author discussed at considerable length the various theosophical systems of India, and in his concluding chapter he reviewed the various forms in which they had made their appearance in the West. It is questionable whether Speyer's book will convert many Neo-Buddhists and theosophists. There are always certain minds to whom wisdom alleged to be derived in a mysterious manner from invisible Tibetan *mahātmās* will be more attractive than the knowledge gathered through lifelong study in the common way from the books. At any rate, Speyer has placed his knowledge at the disposal of the seekers after truth, and hereby he has undoubtedly done a good work.

To those who wished to be guided Speyer was an excellent guide. For not only his extensive learning, but also his common sense, his clear view, his precision, and above all his great kindness and moderation, made him a master not only to be revered but also to be loved.

J. PH. VOGEL.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1913.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

November 11, 1913.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

Twenty-three nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Dr. B. Moritz read a paper on the "Hijaz Railroad".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Miss Gertrude Bell, Professor Hagopian, and Sir Charles Lyall took part.

November 25, 1913.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Shripad Krishna Belvalkar.

Mr. Pierre Arnold Bernard (Shastri)

Mr. Andrew Caldecott.

Mr. J. Coatman (Indian Police).

Dr. Muhammad Deen.

Lieutenant S. Doraisamy, I.M.S.

Mr. John R. Egan.

Mr. John Gerald Gardner Gardner-Brown.

Rev. Robert Harper, M.D.

Mr. Mahbubul Huq, M.A.

Mr. M. Krishnamachariar, M.A., M.L.

Mr. J. E. Lockyer.

Sir Claude Macdonald, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

Babu Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A.

Mr. Lala Lachmi Narayan.

Mr. G. L. Norton, I.C.S.

S. Rm. M. Ct. Pethachi Chettiar.

Babu Shiva Prasad, B.A.

Rao Sahib Gidugu Venketa Ramamurti, B.A.

Babu Rudradatta Sinha, M.A., LL.B.

Mr. T. Isaac Tambyah.

Pandit Upendranath Vidyabhushana, B.A.

Dr. Robert Zimmermann.

Mrs. Bullock Workman and Dr. Hunter Workman read papers on the "Exploration and Physical Features of the Siachen Glacier".

December 9, 1913.—The Right Hon. Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

Seven nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. Pargiter read a paper on "The Earliest Indian Traditional History".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hoernle, Sir Richard Temple, and Mr. Fleet took part.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. LXVII, Heft iii.

Franke (R. O.). Die Verknüpfung der Dīghanikāya-Suttas untereinander.

Schmidt (R.). Beiträge zur Flora Sanscritica.

Mordtmann (J. H.). Türkische Papierausschneider.

Schwarz (P.). Traum und Traumdeutung nach 'Abdalḡanī an-Nābulusī.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome I, No. ii.

Chavannes (E.) & P. Pelliot. Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine.

Pognon (H.). Mélanges assyriologiques.

Decourdemanche (J. A.). Note sur l'estimation de la longueur du degré terrestre chez les Grecs, les Arabes, et dans l'Inde.

Bacot (J.). La table des présages signifiés par l'éclair.
Texte tibétain publié et traduit.

Pelliot (P.). Mélanges : Sur quelques mots d'Asie centrale
attestés dans les textes chinois.

Tome I, No. iii.

Ross (E. D.) & R. Gauthiot. L'Alphabet sogdien d'après
un témoignage du xiii^e siècle.

Weill (R.). Les Hyksos et la restauration nationale dans
la tradition égyptienne et dans l'histoire.

Masson-Oursel (P.). Les trois corps du Bouddha.

Menant (D.). Observations sur deux MSS. orientaux de
la Bib. Nationale.

Pelliot (P.). Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie
tibétaine.

Tome II, No. i.

Conte Rossini (C.). Notice sur les MSS. éthiopiens de la
collection d'Abbadie.

Jeannin (Dom J.). Le chant liturgique syrien.

Berger (Ph.) & M. Schwab. Le plus ancien MS. hébreu.

Pelliot (P.) (avec des notes de Cl. Huart et Denison Ross).
Les plus anciens monuments de l'écriture arabe en
Chine.

Finot (L.). Mélanges : Le plus ancien témoignage sur
l'existence du canon pâli en Birmanie.

III. GIORNALE DELLA SOCIETÀ ASIATICA ITALIANA.

Vol. XXV.

Patrubany (L. de). Studi etimologici.

Vallauri (M.). Intorno alle recensioni del Rāmāyaṇa.

Suali (L.). I drammi di Bhāsa.

Ballini (A.). Praçamaratiprakaraṇam saṭīkam.

Belloni-Filippi (F.). Munipaticaritrāsāroddhāraḥ.

Cassuto (U.). L'ashgarà nella Bibbia.

Tessitori (L. P.). Le Uvaesamālā di Dharmadāsa.

IV. JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XXII, No. lxviii.

- Pieris (P. E.). The Date of King Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.
—— Inscriptions at St. Thomas's Church, Colombo.
Lee (R. W.). Ceylon Archives at the Cape of Good Hope.
Silva (S. de). Vijaya Báhu VI.
—— Inscription at Kérágala.

V. JOURNAL OF THE NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XLIV.

- Richard (T.). Introduction to a great Chinese Epic or
Religious Allegory by Ch'ui Ch'ang Ch'un, A.D. 1148.
Williams (E. T.). The State Religion of China during
the Manchu Dynasty.
Henke (F. G.). The Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming.
Stanley (A.). Chinese Embroidery and other Art Textile
Work.
Parker (E. H.). Mongolia after the Genghizides and
before the Manchus.
Shields (E. T.). Omei San: the Sacred Mountain of
West China.

VI. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
Vol. XLI, Pts. i-ii.

- Dening (W.). Japanese Modern Literature.
Kirby (R. J.). Translation of Dazai Jun's Economic
Essays, "Doing Nothing" and Divinations.
Bouldin (Rev. G. W.). The Buddhistic Virtues.

VII. RIVISTI DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. VI, Fasc. i.

- Blochet (E.). Études sur le gnosticisme musulman.
Jean (F. Charles). Cenni intorno a recenti studi sulle
affinità camito-semitiche.
Seybold (C. F.). Die Breslauer Glossen zu Siwāsī's
Kommentar zu Ségāwendī's Erbrecht.

Amedroz (H. F.). The Ballad of Schiller in another version.

Pizzagalli (A. M.). Br̥haspati e la Nīti.

Nazari (O.). R̥gveda, 1, 3. 12.

Tessitori (L. P.). Nāsaketa-ri Ratha o di una versione in Māravādībhāsā del Nāsiketopākhyāna.

Vacca (G.). Note cinesi.

VIII. ANNALS OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

Vol. VI, Nos. i-ii.

Garstang (J.) & W. S. George. Fourth Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroë in Ethiopia.

Wainwright (G. A.). The Keftiu-people of the Egyptian Monuments.

IX. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. IV, No. ii.

Halper (B.). Scansion of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry.

X. T'OUNG PAO. Vol. XIV, No. iii.

Laufer (B.). Arabic and Chinese Trade in Walrus and Narwhal Ivory, with Addenda by P. Pelliot.

Müller (H.). Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Han-Skulpturen.

Saussure (L. de). Les origines de l'astronomie chinoises.

XI. DER ISLAM. Bd. IV, Heft iii.

Wensinck (A. J.). Animismus und Dämonenglaube im Untergrunde des jüdischen und islamischen rituellen Gebets.

Ruska (J.). Kazwinistudien.

Becker (C. H.). Prinzipielles zu Lammens Strastudien.

Wiener (A.). Die Farāğ ba'd as-Šidda Literatur.

Band IV, Heft iv.

Kahle (P.). Die Aulād-'Ali-Beduinen der Libyschen Wüste.

Flury (S.). Samarra und die Ornamentik der Moschee des Ibn Tūlūn.

XII. JOURNAL DE LA SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-UGRIENNE.
Vol. XXVIII.

Gramö (J. G.). Archäologische Beobachtungen von meiner Reise in Südsibirien und der Nordwestmongolei im Jahre 1909.

— Über die geographische Verbreitung und die Formen der Altertümer in der Nordwestmongolie.

Ramstedt (G. J.). Zur verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischensprachen.

XIII. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
Vol. XXXIII, Pt. ii.

Negelein (J. v.). Atharvaprāyaścittāni.

Michelson (T.). Vedic, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic.

Conant (C. E.). Notes on the Phonology of the Tirurai Language.

Edgerton (F.). Pañcadivvyādhivāsa, or Choosing a King by Divine Will.

Hussey (M. I.). Tablets from Drehem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio.

Jastrow (Morris). Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes.

Hirth (F.). The Mysteries of Fu-lin.

Schoff (W. H.). Tamil Political Divisions in the First Two Centuries of the Christian Era.

Kent (R. G.). Classical Parallels to a Sanskrit Proverb.

XIV. JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF BENGAL. Vol. VIII, No. xi.

Whitehead (R. B.). The Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India.

Numismatic Supplement, No. XX.

Vol. IX, Nos. i-v.

Husain (M. Hidayat). The *Mirzā Nāmāh*.

Kirkpatrick (W.). The Marriage Ceremony and Marriage Customs of the Gehara Kanjars.

— Comparative Vocabulary of the Language of European Gypsies or Romnichal and Colloquial Hindustani.

Krick (Rev. Fr.). Expedition among the Abors in 1853 (translated by the Rev. A. Gille, S.J.).

Oldenberg (H.). A Note on Buddhism.

Brown (J. Coggin). The A-ch'ang Tribe of Hohsa Lahsa, Yunnan.

Hosten (Rev. H.), S.J. Earliest Jesuit Printing in India. (From the Spanish of the Rev. C. G. Rodeles.)

— Two Portuguese Inscriptions in the Kaplesvara Temple of Malipur.

— The Pitt Diamond and the Eyes of Jagannath.

Firminger (Rev. W.). Two Letters of Major James Rennell.

Koul (Pandit Anand). History of Kāsmīr.

XV. JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. II, No. i.

Whitehead (R. B.). The Place of Coins in Indian History.

Sheo Narain (Pandit). *Dārā Shikoh* as an Author.

Vogel (J. Ph.). A Statue of King Kanishka.

Nur Baksh (Maulawi). A Historic Elephant Fight.

XVI. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLII, Pt. DXXXIII.

Temple (Sir R. C.), Bart. The Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States.

Kumar (S.). On the Date of Lakshmanasena.

Bühler (G.). Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry. (Translated by Professor V. S. Ghale.)

Govindacharya Svamin (A.). Brahman Immigration into Southern India.

Bhandarkar (Sir R. G.). The Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman.

Iyengar (P. T. S.). Kumarila's Acquaintance with Tamil.

Guleri (C.). The Real Author of Jayamangala.

XVII. BULLETIN DE LA COMMISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE L'INDO-CHINE. 1912. Liv. II.

Finot (L.). Notes d'archéologie cambodgienne.

Stöner (H.). Catalogue des sculptures égyptiennes et khmères du Musée royal d'ethnographie à Berlin.

Cadière (L.). Une lettre du roi du Tonkin au Pape.

Rougier (V.). Nouvelles découvertes égyptiennes au Quang-nam.

XVIII. OSTASIATISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT. Vol. II, Heft ii.

Commaile (J.). Angkor.

Fischer (O.). Die Entwicklung der Baumdarstellung in der Chinesischen Kunst.

Visser (M. W. de). Die Bodhisattva Ti-Tsang in China und Japan.

Cohn (W.). Über die Bildnerei der Naraperiode.

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1914

VI

THE RELATION OF THE OLD ARABIAN POETRY
TO THE HEBREW LITERATURE OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT

BY SIR C. J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

Read January 13, 1914.

THREE years ago, in his Schweich Lectures on "The Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social Origins", Dr. George Adam Smith gave us a detailed examination of all the remains of ancient Hebrew poetry contained in the Old Testament which he thought might reasonably be assigned to the period before the eighth century B.C., that notable century which saw the rise of the great Prophets—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah—who brought to the religion of Israel a new spirit, and set it upon the road of development which has been fraught with incalculable consequences to the history of mankind. Those who heard his lectures, or have read them in their since published form, will remember that in dealing with these ancient relics of literature Dr. Smith throughout examined them with an eye to the compositions of those cousins of Israel, the nomad tribes of Arabia. Comparing

the two, at every step he found that the latter threw light on the former, and brought into strong relief the close kinship of these two great historic branches of the Semitic race. "Ancient Israel illustrated by Ancient Arabia" might, in fact, be taken as the alternative description of his lectures, the beauty and eloquence of which those who heard them are not likely soon to forget.

I wish, this afternoon, with your permission to examine the subject from a slightly different point of view—that of a student of Ancient Arabia. You may remember that, rather more than two years ago, I gave you in this place an account of some of the aspects of Ancient Arabian poetry, in which I pointed out that the earliest remains of that poetry which have come down to us go no further back than about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. These earliest productions (I said) "come before us full-grown: everything is settled—laws of metre and rhyme, choice of subjects, language, order of treatment. It is impossible to suppose that these poems, so fixed in their conventions and so regular in their style and workmanship, are not the product of long development, of which, however, owing to the fact that they were handed down by memory only, and were not written, no record now remains."

With such a wide gap between them—from the eighth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.—it might seem hopeless to attempt to establish any relation between these two groups of literary productions. Hebrew poetry and Arabic poetry are in outward form very different. Though Hebrew and Arabic are languages nearly akin, there are great divergences between them. Arabic abounds in short vowels, and manages its constructions by means of case endings and modal terminations, which dispense with the necessity of help-words. Hebrew (though it once possessed them) has lost nearly all its case terminations,

and consequently abounds in long vowels and consonantal endings, which would be very embarrassing to any system of prosody like that of Arabic. Hebrew poetry is arranged metrically by stresses or beats, five, four, three, or two to the line, and, at least in its later developments, is marked by an elaborate system of parallelism, in which the meaning of one line is expressed over again in other words, or displayed antithetically, or in a complement, in the next. Arabic verse, on the other hand, has an extensive system of regular and very beautiful metres, made up of long and short syllables arranged in a definite order, with a nice sense of the value of each in time. Its prosody bears a close resemblance to that of the Greeks, whereas Hebrew verse may rather be compared to the rough Saturnian rhythms of the early Latin poets, or the chants of our Northern forefathers, recently imitated by the Poet Laureate in his Christmas ode.

As I have said, the Arabian metres first come before us full-grown, and the changes which they underwent during the two centuries covered by the classical poetry are but small. We find, it is true, in the fragments of the oldest poets known to us, 'Abid ibn al-Abras, al-Muraqqish, and Imra' al-Qais, metres which later poets did not think fit to use, and which puzzled the metrists of al-Khalil's time; and in Imra' al-Qais's verse we detect certain harshnesses or anomalies which his successors smoothed away; but, speaking generally, it must be admitted that by the beginning of the sixth century A.D. the essential laws of Arabic metre and prosody had been fixed, and these laws governed the poetry during the whole of the classical period. We know not who invented them, any more than we know who invented the hexameter or other leading metres of Greek verse. In both cases the inventors worked in ages of which nothing has come down to us, and it is a fair conjecture that the elaboration of the system took a long period of time to effect.

But when we turn from the form of the saying to the substance of the thing said, we find a most close and extraordinary resemblance between the old poetry of Israel and the compositions of Northern and Central Arabia in the classical period, and the great gap of twelve or thirteen centuries seems to vanish entirely. We have a saying which has become a newspaper commonplace, irritating to many people — “the unchanging East.” There are many parts of the East which are far from unchanging, and our own day has seen throughout almost the whole of Asia changes which, in magnitude and suddenness, have belied all anticipations. But there is one Asiatic country where the physical conditions and the social relations resulting from them seem to be incapable of change, and that is the Arabian Peninsula. Our popular saying has probably arisen from the comparison of the stories in the Bible of the Patriarchal age with the experience of modern travellers in the deserts of Syria and Northern Arabia; and it is true that in these lands the centuries pass, and there is from age to age extremely little change. Nearly thirteen hundred years ago Arabia had its chance. Islam came, and the first two Caliphs succeeded in directing the whole forces of the country into the great career of exterior conquest which, as you know, changed the course of history in more than half Asia, the greater part of Africa, and Southern Europe. But those that were left behind in the great emigration continued to live after the fashion of their forefathers. In a century and a half the Arab Empire outside Arabia had practically come to an end. Islam became a world religion, Arabic a world language and literature; but the Arabs of Arabia were no longer the dominant people, and those who inhabited the Peninsula reverted to the customs and mode of life which the conditions of the country imposed upon them, and which continued through the centuries to our own day. Modern travellers in Arabia, above all

Mr. Charles Doughty, in their descriptions of life there, give us the best commentary on the poems of the sixth and seventh centuries. They show that, with insignificant exceptions, the foundations of the social structure remain unchanged from that day to this, and that we can best explain the old poets by looking around us and seeing how men live now.

But if this is the case in the thirteen centuries that have elapsed since the Flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, may we not say that it is likewise true for the thirteen centuries (and more) between the time of the great Prophets of Israel and the Prophet of Mecca? This is the question which I wish to state before you this afternoon, and, as briefly as may be, to illustrate it by comparing the examples found in Hebrew literature with those of Arabian classical poetry.

The history of Israel may be roughly divided into two great periods: first, that when the people were nomads, dwelling as kindred tribes either in the Wilderness or in the new lands where they first settled after the partial conquest of Canaan; and secondly, the period of social organization and civic life, which began with the establishment of the kingdom, and gradually converted the nation from a race of warriors and herdsmen to one of agriculturists and townsmen. The first period is that set forth in the Patriarchal tradition, the history of the sojourn in Egypt, the wanderings in the Wilderness, and the period of the Judges; and its record is contained in the Pentateuch, the Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, and the two Books of Samuel. The second period covers all the rest of the Old Testament, including the history of the Books of Kings and their supplement, the Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, the writings of the Prophetic age, the Wisdom literature—Job and Solomon, and the devotional literature represented by the Book of Psalms, which expresses, in a special manner, the religious consciousness of devout

Israel from age to age, but in its present form is the hymn-book of the Second Temple.

It is only in the first age that we should expect close resemblance between the literature of Israel and that of Arabia, because it was only during that time that the conditions of the two peoples were similar; and it is remarkable how few are the fragments of poetic composition which have survived to us from it. Apparently there were compilations of such poems which once existed, known as the Book of hay-Yāshār, the Book of the Wars of Yahweh, and perhaps the Book of the Songs, all of which have perished, though they are cited in the extant prose literature. But there are two outstanding monuments of this period, the Song of Deborah and the Lament of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan, both pieces of literature which, since they are included in the Sunday lessons, have from century to century touched the hearts and filled the eyes of hundreds of thousands of English folk. Both of these poems are strongly and markedly Arabian in feeling, in texture, and in expression.

The first, the Song of Deborah, has indeed one feature which you will not find in Arabian poetry, the theophany with which it opens. The Arabs of the classical time, and their descendants the Bedouin of our present day, are perhaps one of the races most untouched by the solemnities of religious awe that have ever existed. The Israelites imagined the presence of Yahweh in the storm, and heard His voice in the thunder; and some of the most splendid passages of the Old Testament are those which depict such theophanies. There is no lack in Arabian poetry of descriptions of storms, and very beautiful they are; but no Godhead is felt in them. It may be that in former times things were different, and the tribal god may have been conceived by Arabs, as the Israelites thought of Yahweh, marching in clouds and darkness at

the head of their armies; but if so, we have no evidence of the fact. After the appeal to the Lord and a description of His march from Mount Se'ir, the poetess goes on to describe the distress which afflicted Israel under the tyranny of strangers. Then she tells of the devotion of the leaders of the people, and their zeal in the national cause. Then she passes to the enumeration of the tribes who took part in the fight, and pours scorn on those who held back. Then come the hurry and rush of the battle. All these lines could be matched word for word in hundreds of Arabian poems describing fights. Then follows the curse of Mērōz, a place not otherwise known, whose townsmen should have come to the help of the people of Yahweh, but did not: perhaps they allowed the fugitives of Sisera's beaten army to pass through unharmed. Then follows the great blessing on Jael, wife of Heber the Qenite—an Arab woman herself, for Qain is an Arab tribal name. Let me read you Dr. George Adam Smith's translation—

- (24) Blessed among women Ya'ēl,
Above women in tents be she blessed!
- (25) Water he craved, milk she gave,
In a dish for lords she brought the curd.
- (26) Her hand to the peg she put,
Her right to the workman's hammer,
And Sis'ērā she hammered, she shattered his head,
She smashed, she hacked through his temples;
- (27) Between her feet he bent, he fell,
Where he bent there he fell—undone!

I will make no moral reflections on Jael's treachery. The poetess does not condemn it, nor was it likely that she would. It is sufficient to say that such an act, horrible though it was according to all Arab ideas of hospitality, would probably have been dealt with in a similar manner in an Arabian poem composed by the tribe that profited by it. Last comes the passage in

which Sisera's mother is imagined, looking out of the window anxiously for the return of her victorious son—

- (28) Out of the window she leans, she whines,
Sis^erā his mother through the lattice:
“Why are his chariots shy to come?
Wherefore tarry the beats of his cars?”
- (29) Warily answer to her her ladies,
Yea, she returns her words to herself:
- (30) “Are they not finding, dividing the spoil?
A wench, two wenches a-head for the men,
Booty of dyes for Sis^erā,
Booty of dyes with brocade,
Dyes, double brocade, for *my* neck the spoil!”

Dr. Smith thinks that “there can be little doubt to whom we should assign the verses on Jael and on the mother of Sisera. If Deborah did not make them, some other woman did”. I see no reason myself to doubt that they were the work of Deborah; but I am sorry to say that the nearest Arabic parallel I am able to adduce comes from a poem by a man. In or about the year 570 A.D. there was fought a great battle in Central Arabia called the day of Shi'b Jabalah, in which the tribe of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah routed a great combination which the neighbouring tribes brought against it. In one of the poems celebrating this victory a poet, Mu'aqqir son of Ḥimār, al-Bāriqī, speaks thus of the tribe of Dhubyān, one of those who were defeated:—

“Many the mother in Dhubyān who enjoined her sons, ‘Be sure to bring back plunder of blankets with heavy nap and bags of leather tanned with pomegranate-skin.’

She fitted them out with all she could scrape together, and said, ‘Sons of mine! surely each one of you is a needy hero.’

But we disappointed her affection, and she spent the summer with the rims of her eyes bare of lashes through constant weeping.”

The Lament—in Hebrew *qīnāh*—of David for Saul and Jonathan is, in its translation in the Authorized Version, known to everybody; it is in every respect exactly similar to an Arabian *marthiyah*. This is what Dr. Smith says of it: “The only general remark necessary about the two dirges (on Abner and on Saul and Jonathan) is that neither breathes the name of God nor hope of another life. In the dirge on Saul and Jonathan this is most impressive. For there we find a keen relish of life and a most passionate lasting of love, an appreciation of the virtues of the dead, and a magnanimous forgiveness of the injuries one of them had wrought—every instinct proper at the thought of the great dead except the instinct of hope. It may be said, of course, that in the abandonment of grief—grief which is nobly and splendidly passionate in the dirge on Saul and Jonathan—God and the life to come are naturally forgotten. Yet the silence of these dirges is also the silence of all the narratives and poems through which we have passed, and but illustrates that weird absence of hope which is characteristic of the pagan Arabs and of early Israel, even in their mourning for virtuous and beloved men.”

You will no doubt read for yourselves Dr. Smith's beautiful rendering of the dirge. The Revised Version has made little change in the old text, even in places where a change might very reasonably have been made: perhaps it was felt that the words in their poignancy were too dear. I wish, however, to point out one matter of phrasing, in which Hebrew and Arabic, in this class of poems, coincide; that is the use of the word *nī'ma* (Ar.), *nā'im* (Heb.). David says, according to our time-honoured rendering, “Saul and Jonathan were lovely and *pleasant* in their lives”; and again, “My brother Jonathan, *very pleasant* hast thou been unto me!” In Hebrew: “Shā'ul wīhōnāthān han-nē'hābhīm w'han-nē'imīm behayyēhem”; and “Akhī Yehōnāthān, nā'amtā-llī m'e'ōdh”. Now in

Arabic dirges there is no word more insistent than this *ni'ma*: "How goodly was he, how pleasant!" For instance (pardon an Arabic quotation)—

نِعْمَ الْفَتَى غَاكِرْتُمْ بِرَحْمَانٍ
ثَابِتِ بْنِ جَابِرِ بْنِ سُفْيَانَ
مَنْ يَقْتُلُ الْقَرْنَ وَيُرْوِي النَّدْمَانَ

"Goodly the warrior whom ye left at Rakhmān
—Thābit son of Jābir son of Sufyān,
who slew his foe and poured wine for his fellow!"

Here the whole point of this short cry of grief is in the word *ni'ma*; and so it is—with a double insistence—in David's lament.

How the Arabs lamented their dead let me show you for comparison by quoting a piece of a *marthiyah* by Duraid son of as-Ṣimmah on his brother 'Abdallāh (date about 600 A.D.)—

"But know ye, if 'Abdallāh be dead, and his place a void—
no weakling unsure of hand, and no holder-back was he!
Alert, keen, his loins well girt, his leg to the middle bare,
unblemished and clean of limb, a climber to all things high:
No wailer before ill-luck: one mindful in all he did
to think how his work to-day would live in to-morrow's tale:
Content to bear hunger's pain though meat lay beneath his hand
—to labour in ragged shirt that those whom he served
might rest.

If Dearth laid her hand on him, and Famine devoured his store,
he gave but the gladlier what little to him they spared.
He dealt as a youth with Youth until, when his head grew hoar
and age gathered o'er his brow, to Lightness he said—
'Begone!'

Yea, somewhat it soothes my soul that never I said to him
'Thou liest', nor grudged him aught of mine that he
sought of me."

What I wish to submit in regard to these ancient poems of Israel is that, in all probability, the contemporary

Arabs of the east and south were making verse of the same kind at the same time. It is quite certain that the Arabs did not learn from the Hebrews their chants of battle and foray, or their wonderful and poignant songs of mourning for their dead. They were, and are, unlettered men, who knew neither reading nor writing, although they had unparalleled skill in the weaving of words, and the most delicate appreciation of the value of sounds and the necessities of metre. There is no reason to suppose that the civilization of the Israelites, in the first of the two periods I have mentioned, was superior to that of their cousins the sons of Midian, Ishmael, and Edom. Apart from the mission of Israel as founder of a world-religion, and his unique capacity for the reception and development of religious ideas, there was little difference between him and his neighbours. Let anyone who doubts this read the inscription of King Mēsha' on the Moabite Stone, and think how easily this could be adapted to Israelitish use if for Chemōsh we read Yahweh.

Let us now take a leap over three or four centuries. In this interval much has developed in the mind of Israel. The Prophets have laid the basis of a religion, not of rites, but of conscience. Yahweh has become, from a tribal deity, the God of the whole earth, who loves righteousness and will surely punish iniquity wheresoever found, and who is near at hand to every soul, not dwelling in temples built by men. The Captivity has brought the nation into contact with other world powers, and strongly impressed it by the overthrow of Babylon, that secular colossal enemy, by the rising Empire of Persia. After the Return, which the people owe to the liberal policy of the Persian king, the Remnant settle down to a religious and contemplative life, and the age produces the Wisdom Literature which goes under the names of Job and Solomon. In Job (the approximate date of which is fixed by coincidences

of phrasing with the second Isaiah and many Psalms) the author, alone among the sacred writers (with the partial exception of the writer of the Book of Ruth), has gone outside the limits of Israel, and placed the scene of his colloquies in Arabia. As Professor Burkitt said the other day in his Schweich Lectures, there is no reason for supposing that the author was other than a pious Jew, though he does not mention the Law from the beginning to the end of the book. He was probably a townsman, for his knowledge of the desert life is so imperfect that he makes Job at the same time an owner of camels and sheep, and therefore a nomad, and a possessor of yokes of oxen and a tiller of the soil: the two conditions are incompatible one with the other. Nevertheless, it is clear that he intended Job to be regarded as an Arab tribal chief, dwelling in the land of Uz (‘Ūṣ), which is most probably situated in the east or south-east of Palestine, that is, in the Syrian desert: the exact locality does not matter, for the interest of the book is not local. There is an apparent solecism in bringing in as raiders not only the Chaldeans (already become, since the Persian conquest, a legendary power) but also the Sabeans from the far south of Arabia. Job’s friends, like himself, are tribal chiefs, and the problem which they debate is the undeserved suffering of the righteous man. It may be that those scholars are right who would separate from the rest of the book the speeches of Elihu in chapters xxxii–vii, though I myself am not convinced on the subject. But I regard, and I believe sober critics generally regard, the book as otherwise a unity, the work of one mind.

I do not propose to take you through the whole of the book, nor is there need to do so. The passages which interest us are contained in the utterances of the Almighty in chapters xxxviii–xli, in which are set forth the marvels of creation. After reciting, in language of unmatched magnificence, the wonders of Nature—the foundations of

the earth, the majesty of the sea, the daily appearance of the dawn, the depth of the great abyss where is Sheol, the changes of light and darkness, the sources of snow and hail, the hidden tracks of the wind and rain, the origin of dew, ice, and hoar-frost, the influences of the constellations which revolve in their seasons, the clouds and lightnings—the Speaker turns to animate Nature. At the end of chapter xxxviii He mentions the lioness with her cubs in her covert, and the raven and its nestlings, for both of which God provides meat. Then in chapter xxxix follow pictures of the wild mountain-goat (Hebrew *ya'al*, Arabic *wa'il*), the wild-ass, the wild-ox or oryx (*rēm*, Arabic *ri'm*), the ostrich, the horse, the hawk, and the eagle. All these are creatures familiar to the Arabian poets, and some of them, especially the wild-ass, the oryx, the ostrich, and the eagle, are described over and over again as types of matchless speed, while the horse is depicted in the fullest detail by every poet of the Desert. I gave, in the paper I read in November, 1911, a number of pictorial passages from Arabian poetry dealing with the four animals chosen as examples of fleetness, and pointed out how closely the words of the poets correspond with those of the author of Job. If time permitted, I could give a long catalogue of passages corresponding to his superb description of the horse. Then, in chapters xl and xli, the poet sets forth, in language of high imaginative grandeur, the strength and terrible appearance of the hippopotamus (*behēmōth*) and the crocodile (*livyāthān*); but as these monsters are not found in Arabia they need not detain us.

Here, then, we have a work of splendid literary art, probably composed in the fifth or fourth century B.C., where the writer deliberately chooses for his scene, and the persons of his drama, the land and people of Arabia. This implies that in his time it was believed that wise men, capable of carrying on such a colloquy, could be

found there. In the words which he puts into the mouth of the Almighty, he draws for us pictures of desert animal life agreeing generally with those drawn by the Arabian poets of the fifth century after Christ. In some cases their knowledge was superior to his; for instance, in regard to the ostrich, the accusation of foolishness is unjustified. The eggs during the daytime are lightly covered with sand, and kept sufficiently warm by the sun; at night, or when rain threatens, they are carefully incubated by the male ostrich. All this the Arabs knew well, and set out in their verse.

It seems to me that the reasonable conclusion is that in the time of the author there were poets in Arabia who dealt with just the same subjects as were chosen by their successors nearly a thousand years later, and that they handled them in, approximately, the same way. Whether any of the established metres of Arabian verse were then in use we cannot tell; but the perfection which they have reached when they first become known to us implies, I submit, a gradual shaping which may have taken centuries to carry out.

Thus, by a comparison, first, of the early poetry of natural emotion among the Hebrews with that of the Arabs; and secondly, by a comparison of the products of literary art of the former people in an age of reflection and culture with those of Arabia during the century before Muḥammad, we are led to the conclusion that Arab poetic art, in the time of tribal Israel as well as in the later literary period, probably covered much the same field of subjects as it does at the beginning of the Islamic age; and that the sole reason why none of these compositions of ancient times are now extant is that they were not committed to writing, but perished with the dying out of the human memories in which they were preserved.

VII

EARLIEST INDIAN TRADITIONAL 'HISTORY'

By F. E. PARGITER

MUCH has been done by scholars to elucidate the history of the earliest times in India, based principally on the Veda and the brahmanical literature, and the deductions of philology. Kṣatriya tradition,¹ especially in the genealogical accounts, contains a great quantity of quasi-historical matter, but has been generally discarded as meriting little or no trust. It is, however, worthy of attention and examination, since it tells us what the ancient Aryans knew or believed about the earliest 'events' in India.

In a former paper I endeavoured to co-ordinate all the genealogical accounts of the principal ancient dynasties, and drew up a table of genealogies showing them synoptically.² That was a genealogical skeleton, though much of the tradition was utilized there in order to elucidate alleged synchronisms and the relative positions of the kings in the various dynasties. Kṣatriya tradition contains much more information, and professes to give some account of the chief kings and the course of events; and it is but prudent to co-ordinate all the information, so as to find out what ancient tradition has to tell us about the earliest times. Only after considering it can we rightly accept or reject it.

All the material information, that I have found scattered in the Epics and Purāṇas, is collected here and arranged

¹ That there was kṣatriya tradition distinct from brahmanic tradition about the same 'events' is shown by the stories about Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, some of which have been discussed by me in JRAS, 1913, pp. 900-4.

² JRAS, 1910, p. 1; table, pp. 26-9.

with the aid of the table of genealogies mentioned above; and along with it some particulars from the brahmanic literature also are taken into consideration. A full discussion of all the available matter would constitute a book, and would besides introduce a large quantity of details. In this paper, therefore, the information is condensed; yet the account is complete in all the important particulars, and no statement is made without citing the chief authorities that support it.¹ The further research that I have been able to make has accorded with the table of genealogies mentioned, and this account follows the scheme of that table, clothing the genealogical skeleton with the flesh and blood of traditional 'facts,' so that the two should be taken together.² The various countries and towns mentioned will be found in the map supplied *infra*.

There is no euhemerism in this account, properly speaking. Kṣatriya tradition generally is human and not mythological; kings are commonly treated as real persons, and rishis as not specially superhuman. It is in brahmanical tradition that the mythological element swamps the human. In kṣatriya genealogies and ballads the human element vastly preponderates, subject to Oriental love of hyperbole; and it is on them that the bulk of this account is based. Tradition, however, when reaching back to origins becomes myth, and I have ventured to point out what suggestions myth offers us regarding origins.

Tradition naturally begins with myth, and the myth must be noticed because it may suggest something about the stocks that dominated India at the dawn of tradition.

¹ To cite all would swell out this account needlessly. The authorities are cited thus—MBh = Mahābhārata; Rm = Rāmāyaṇa; Mt = Matsya; Vā = Vāyu; Bḍ = Brahmāṇḍa; Br = Brahma; Vṣ = Viṣṇu; Ag = Agni; Lg = Liṅga; Kū = Kūrma; Gr = Garuḍa; Śv = Śiva; Mk = Mārkaṇḍeya; Pd = Padma; Bh = Bhāgavata; Hv = Harivaṁśa.

² For brevity, references for the dynastic genealogies generally are not given here, because given in JRAS, 1910, pp. 16 ff.

The myth derives all the dynasties (not the populace) from Manu, son of Vivasvant (the Sun), and is narrated in various ways¹ which, however, have this much common ground. Manu had nine sons, and also either a daughter Ilā (born from his sacrifice) or an eldest son Ila who was turned into a woman named Ilā.² Ilā had a son Purūravas Aila by Budha, son of Soma (the Moon).³ She became a man afterwards with the name Sudyumna, and Sudyumna had three sons, Utkala, Gaya, and Vinatāśva (or Haritāśva).⁴ Manu divided the earth into ten portions. Sudyumna obtained no share, but received the town Pratiṣṭhāna, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna. He gave it to Purūravas, and Purūravas began the Aila kingdom there. Purūravas' lineage was the Aila race. Notwithstanding that statement, Sudyumna's three sons had territories of their own; thus Utkala had the Utkala country, Gaya had the town Gayā, and the eastern region belonged to Gaya or to the third son.⁵ These principalities will be denoted collectively as the Saudyumnas.⁶

Here three traditions would seem to have been blended in Ilā-Sudyumna by an attempt to unify them. Two different stocks are, one the Aila stock of Purūravas, and the other that of the chieftains of Gayā, Utkala, and all the eastern region. Their difference is, no doubt, true ethnologically; there is no connexion between them except the dual nature of Ilā-Sudyumna, and none between

¹ One form in Mt 11, 40-12, 18; another in Vā 85, 3-28, Hv 10, 613-40; and the latter differently in Vṣ iv, 1, 5-13: first two combined in Lg i, 65, 17-30. MBh says merely, Manu had nine sons and Ilā, and fifty other sons (i, 75, 3140-3). Rm vii, 87-90, gives a variant version of the first form.

² Ila in Mt, Pd, Rm. Ilā in all the others.

³ MBh says Ilā was both mother and father (i, 75, 3143-4; cf. i, 95, 3760). Mt 12, 12-13 says Ilā bore Purūravas. Vā 90, 45; 91, 1: Hv 25, 1357; 26, 1363, say Purūravas was Budha's son, without mentioning Ilā.

⁴ Rm knows nothing of Sudyumna and his sons.

⁵ Vā 85, 19; Br 7, 18-19; Hv 10, 632: somewhat different in Mt 12, 17-18. Bh ix, 1, 41 is late and blunders.

⁶ This name is in Vā 99, 266.

them and Manu's nine sons except through this fabulous Ila or Ilā.¹

Manu's nine sons constituted another stock, and chief among them were Ikṣvāku, Nābhānediṣṭa, Śaryāti, and Karūṣa.

From Karūṣa were derived the numerous warlike clans of the Kārūṣas, who possessed the Karūṣa country.² Nābhānediṣṭa³ was the progenitor of a long dynasty of kings,⁴ who reigned in the country immediately north of Patna, because one of its later kings, Viśāla, founded Viśālā or Vaiśālī as the capital.⁵ No name is given to this realm, but the later kings were called the Vaiśālaka kings,⁶ and it may therefore be denoted as the Vaiśāla kingdom. Śaryāti's realm⁷ lay in the extreme west, in the region bordering the Gulf of Cambay, because his successor Ānarta gave the name Ānarta to Gujarat, and the capital was Kuśasthalī (the ancient name of Dvārakā).⁸ His descendants, the Śāryātas, reigned there for a time. This kingdom may be called Ānarta.

Ikṣvāku obtained Madhyadeśa⁹ and originated the Solar race, which had its capital at Ayodhyā,¹⁰ where the main line of his descendants, sometimes called Ikṣvākus¹¹ but generally Aikṣvakus, reigned. There are two versions regarding the development of his descendants. One says—¹² Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons, chief of whom were Vikukṣi

¹ This will be considered at the end of this article.

² Vā 86, 2-3 ; Mt 12, 24 ; Hv 11, 658 ; Vṣ iv, 1, 4.

³ Generally corrupted to Nābhāgodiṣṭa or Nābhāgoriṣṭa, or shortened to Nābhāga, Ariṣṭa, and Diṣṭa. The correct name is in RV x, 61, 18.

⁴ His line is called Diṣṭa's line in JRAS, 1910, pp. 25, 27.

⁵ Vā 86, 17 ; Vṣ iv, 1, 18. ⁶ Vā 86, 22 ; Vṣ iv, 1, 18-19.

⁷ Vā 86, 23-8 ; Hv 10, 642-7 ; Mt 12, 21-3 ; Vṣ iv, 1, 20-39.

⁸ See also MBh ii, 13, 613-14, 632 ; Hv 36, 1967.

⁹ Br 7, 20 ; Hv 10, 634. Vā 85, 21 corrupt.

¹⁰ Mt 12, 15 ; Vā 88, 20 ; Hv 11, 662. The name *Kosala* for the country was later.

¹¹ MBh iii, 200, 13486 ; 201, 13621.

¹² Vā 88, 8-11, 20, 24 ; Br 7, 45-8, 51 ; Hv 11, 661-4, 667 ; Vṣ iv, 2, 3, 6.

(the eldest), Nimi and Daṇḍaka; fifty were kings in Uttarāpatha (North India), and forty-eight were rulers in Dakṣiṇāpatha (the Dekhan); Vikukṣi, called Śaśāda, and his heir Kakutstha succeeded, and reigned in Ayodhyā. The other says—¹ Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons, of whom Vikukṣi was the eldest; Vikukṣi had fifteen sons, who were kings north of Meru, and 114 other sons were kings south of Meru, of whom the chief was Kakutstha, who succeeded him in Ayodhyā. The former version seems less improbable (such as they are), but the two versions agree in this much, that practically most of the kings in North and South India were reckoned descendants of Ikṣvāku.²

Ikṣvāku's second son Nimi (or Nemi) founded a separate dynasty³ which reigned in Videha, and he is called Videha. His capital was Jayanta. His son was Mithi Janaka, after whom the royal family were known as the Janakas.⁴ Their capital was also Mithilā. This dynasty was an offshoot of the Solar race and of the Aikṣvākus, but these names were appropriated to the main line at Ayodhyā, and this dynasty was distinguished as the Vaidehas, Janakas and Maithilas.

Tradition and myth thus alleged that the kings and chiefs throughout India, except the Ailas at Pratiṣṭhāna and the Saudyumnas in the eastern region, belonged to one common stock; and they say so doubly, first with regard to Manu's sons, and secondly with regard to Ikṣvāku's descendants. This stock had five prominent kingdoms, the Aikṣvākus or Solar race at Ayodhyā, the Janakas in Videha, the Vaiśāla kingdom north of Patna, the Kārūsas in Karūṣa (Rewa) and the Śāryātas in Ānarta

¹ Mt 12, 26-8; Pd v, 8, 130-3.

² Bh ix, 6, 4-5 is late and untrustworthy.

³ See JRAS, 1910, p. 19.

⁴ *Vamśo Janakānām* in Vā 89, 23; Bḍ iii, 64, 24. *Janakavamśa* in Vṣ iv, 5, 13. *Janakānām kule* in Mk 13, 11. For individual kings called Janaka see JRAS, 1910, p. 19, note ⁴.

(Gujarat). Tradition and myth thus virtually distinguished three dominant stocks, for there is no connexion between them except through the fabulous Ilā,¹ namely, (1) the Ailas or Lunar race at Pratiṣṭhāna, (2) the Saudyumnas in Gayā and the eastern region, and (3) all the other kings and chiefs throughout India. This last stock has no common name in tradition. The word Mānava is used too widely to be appropriate. Some name is required to distinguish this stock, and in the absence of any better term I venture to call it by the new word *Mānva*.²

Further, according to tradition royal power first developed in the Gangetic plain in the towns Pratiṣṭhāna, Ayodhyā, Jayanta, Mithilā and Gayā, with an off-lying branch at Kuśasthalī.

These traditions deal only with the dominant races. There are many indications that those races ruled over various folk of rude culture or aboriginal stock, such as Niṣādas, Dāsas and Pulindas. Tribes of a higher grade or hostile character are often mentioned, such as Daityas, Dānavas, Nāgas and Rākṣasas.³ These names do not always imply that such tribes were different from Mānvas and Saudyumnas, or even Ailas, but generally mean men of alien and hostile race in kṣatriya tradition. They are sometimes used merely as epithets of hatred or opprobrium, and are found applied even to kings descended from the Aila or Lunar race⁴; thus Madhu, the great king of the Yādavas (from whom Kṛṣṇa obtained the patronymic Mādhava), is styled a "Daitya" and "king of the Dānavas".⁵

The kingdoms mentioned continued as they have been

¹ See further at the end of this article.

² After the analogy of *Yādva* from *Yadu*, and *Mādhva* from *Madhu*. It is not found in Sanskrit and is therefore neutral; still, some term unconnected with *Manu* would be preferable.

³ Compare the Chinese name, "foreign devils," for Europeans.

⁴ For the significance of this, see end of this article.

⁵ Hv 94, 5143, 5157, 5164.

described, with the exception of the Aila dynasty. That quickly developed from Pratiṣṭhāna. Northward it was barred by the Aikṣvāku kingdom and southward by the warlike Kārūṣas, hence its expansion began north-westward and eastward along the Ganges during the reigns of Purūravas' successors Āyus and Nahuṣa. Āyus' brother Amāvasu or his immediate descendants established a kingdom, the capital of which was afterwards Kānyakubja¹; and from Sunahotra or Suhotra, Nahuṣa's brother or nephew, sprang a line of kings who reigned in the Kāśya country with their capital at Kāśi or Vārāṇasī (Benares).²

Nahuṣa's son Yayāti extended his kingdom greatly³ and became a samrāj.⁴ He conquered not only all Madhyadeśa west of the Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja kingdoms but also the country to the N.W., W., S.W. and S.E. He had five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, and divided his territories among them. He installed Pūru, the youngest, in the ancestral sovereignty in the middle region,⁵ that is, the southern half of the joint Ganges-Jumna plain, and gave the elder sons the outlying territories; thus, according to the majority of the authorities, Yadu got the south-west, Turvasu the south-east, Druhyu the west and Anu the north.⁶ These directions are taken from the middle kingdom assigned to Pūru; hence Yadu

¹ It was Gādhi's capital, MBh v, 118, 4005.

² Kāśi, Vā 92, 18, 21; Bḍ iii, 67, 7, 23. Vārāṇasī, Vā 92, 23-68.

³ MBh i, 75, 3151-4; vii, 63, 2292-7; xii, 29, 987-90; Vā 93, 90; Hv 30, 1602; Mt 24, 55-6.

⁴ MBh i, 75, 3156.

⁵ MBh i, 85, 3531, and next note.

⁶ Vā 93, 88-90; Bḍ iii, 68, 90-2; Lg i, 67, 11-13; Kū i, 22, 9-11; with Hv 30, 1617-19; Vṣ iv, 10, 16-18. Yadu's region *dakṣiṇāparato* is misread as *parayo* in Kū, *pathato* in Vṣ and *yām atho* in Lg; while Hv reads *pūrvottarasya* wrongly, for the Ayodhyā territory lay there. Br 12, 19-20 is imperfect; and Bh ix, 19, 22-3 is late and blunders. Instead of these allocations MBh i, 85, 3533-4 and Mt 24, 30-1 say, "From Turvasu were descended the Yavanas, from Druhyu the Bhojas (or Vaibhojas?), and from Anu the mleccha races;" but this version is incompatible with all other statements and allusions and seems erroneous.

had the country between the Carmanvatī (Chambal) and Śuktimatī (Ken) Rivers; Druhyu, the country north of the Chambal and west of the upper Jumna; and Anu, the north portion of the joint Ganges-Jumna plain; and these positions agree with the subsequent notices of the Yādavas, Druhyus and Ānavas. Turvasu's kingdom in the south-east must have comprised the Karūsa country, where the Kārūṣas must have been subdued, because nothing more is said about them till long afterwards; but his line played no important part, and the references to it are very few.

Thus at this time the Aila stock had dominated a large part of North India, overcoming the Mānvas in all those directions; but the Ayodhyā, Videha, Vaiśāla and Ānarta kingdoms, which were Mānva, continued to flourish, and soon afterwards Śrāvastī was built in the Ayodhyā realm.¹

Yadu's descendants, the Yādavas, then increased greatly in power, and divided at once into two great branches.² His two chief sons were Sahasrajit and Kroṣṭu, and Sahasrajit's successor, Haihaya, originated the famous line of the Haihayas. Kroṣṭu's descendants were not named after him, but to them was more particularly given the name Yādava. So far as the indications afforded by subsequent developments go, it would seem that the Yādava branch occupied the north part of Yadu's region and the Haihaya branch the south part. The Yādava branch first developed a great kingdom under its king Śaśavindu. He was a cakravartin,³ which means that he extended his sway over neighbouring countries. The chief kingdoms assailable were the Pauravas, Ānavas and Druhyus, and he probably subjugated the first, because the Paurava dynasty disappears now from notice till Dusyanta re-established it.⁴ Probably also he forced the Druhyus

¹ Mt 12, 30; Vā 88, 27; Br 7, 53; Vṣ iv, 2, 13; MBh iii, 201, 13518.

² JRAS, 1910, p. 19.

³ MBh vii, 65; xii, 29, 998-1003: Vā 95, 19; Mt 44, 18; Vṣ iv, 12, 1.

⁴ JRAS, 1910, pp. 26, 43; and p. 282, *infra*.

further into the Panjab.¹ Śaśavindu had many sons who were known as the Śaśavindu or Śāśavindava princes²; hence it would seem that his territories were divided among them in many small principalities.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā then rose to the highest eminence under Yuvanāśva's son, Māndhātṛ, who married Śaśavindu's daughter.³ Māndhātṛ was a very famous king,⁴ and became both a cakravartin⁵ and a samrāj.⁶ He extended his sway so widely that an old verse said, "As far as the sun rises and as far as he comes to rest, all that is called Yauvanāśva Māndhātṛ's territory."⁷ He had a long contest with the Druhyu king Aṅgāra in the Panjab, and at last conquered him,⁸ so that his sway extended to the Panjab; and therefore Kānyakubja and the Paurava country must have acknowledged his sovereignty. The Ānavas also from their position probably felt his power.⁹ There is no indication that he assailed the Yādavas, for the Śāśavindavas were his brothers-in-law. Some passages suggest that he (or his sons) carried his power into the Narbadā valley, but the statements are uncertain and inconsistent.

After his death his empire diminished, and the Kānyakubja kingdom rose to local prominence under king Jahnu, who had married a princess of Ayodhyā,¹⁰ and after whom the Ganges was called Jāhnavī.¹¹ Then, and seemingly in consequence of the disturbances caused by Māndhātṛ's conquests, three great movements occurred among the Haihayas, Ānavas and Druhyus.

¹ See next paragraph.

² MBh vii, 65, 2322-4; xii, 29, 999; Vā 95, 20-2; Mt 44, 19-21.

³ JRAS, 1910, p. 31.

⁴ MBh vii, 62; xii, 29, 974-86; Hv 12, 711; Br. 7, 92.

⁵ Vā 88, 66-7; Bḍ iii, 63, 68. ⁶ MBh ii, 14, 649-50.

⁷ MBh vii, 62, 2282-3; xii, 29, 983; Vā 88, 68.

⁸ Vā 99, 7-8; Hv 32, 1837-8; MBh iii, 126, 10465.

⁹ He sacrificed in the country called afterwards Kurukṣetra (which was perhaps Ānava), MBh iii, 126, 10467.

¹⁰ JRAS, 1910, p. 32. ¹¹ Vā 91, 58; Br 10, 19; Hv 27, 1421.

The Haihayas, under their king Bhadrāsreṇya,¹ carried their arms north-eastward over the prostrate Paurava realm,² conquered the kingdom of Kāśi and reigned in Benares.³ The Kāśi king, Divodāsa I, recovered his kingdom and capital from Bhadrāsreṇya's sons, and yet abandoned Benares afterwards, and retiring eastward built a new capital on the River Gomatī. It is said the Rākṣasa Kṣemaka then took possession of Benares; and Bhadrāsreṇya's son Durdama reconquered the Kāśi territory. That occupation by the Rākṣasas suggests that the country had been so weakened by the Haihaya raids that southern tribes invaded it; and in connexion therewith it may be noted that a conflict took place between Anaraṇya, a king of Ayodhyā, who reigned about that time, and Rāvaṇa,⁴ who would be a king from South India. The Haihayas held the Kāśi territory, and seem to have been mainly engaged in raiding North India.

The movements among the Ānavas and Druhyus seem to have been connected. The Ānavas rose to power at this time under two able kings, Mahāśāla and Mahāmanas, and the latter appears to have encroached on a large part of the north Panjab, because he is styled a cakravartin and lord of the seven *dvīpas* or doabs.⁵ He had two sons, Uśīnara and Titikṣu, under whom the Ānavas divided into two distinct branches.⁶ One branch headed by Uśīnara⁷ established separate kingdoms on the border of and within the Panjab. Of his sons, four founded the

¹ Called Bhadrāsena in Bḍ, Ag, Pd; Rudrāsreṇya in Mt.

² This is implied by the name Vatsa (given by anticipation) in MBh xiii, 30, 1951.

³ The story is told in Vā 92, 23-68; Bḍ iii, 67, 25-72; Hv 29, 1540-91; Br 11, 39-54, with Vā 94, 6-7, Hv 33, 1847-8; Mt 43, 10-11.

⁴ Vā 88, 75; Bḍ iii, 63, 74; Lg i, 65, 44. See Rāvaṇa in connexion with Rāma, p. 285, *infra*.

⁵ Probably the north portions of the seven doabs from the Sarayū north-westwards. Vā 99, 15-17; Hv 31, 1671-3; Mt 48, 13-14.

⁶ Vā 99, 19-24; Hv 32, 1675-81; Mt 48, 17-21; Bḍ iii, 74, 18-24; Br 13, 21-7; Vṣ iv, 18, 1.

⁷ He was famous, MBh xiii, 76, 3689.

principalities of the Yaudheyas, of Navarāṣṭra, of the Ambaṣṭhas, and of the town Kṛmilā, all on the east border of the Panjab. His chief son, Śivi Auśīnara, originated the Śivis in Śivapura, and Śivi's four sons established the kingdoms of the Madrakas (or Madras), Kekayas (or Kaikeyas), Sauvīras and Vṛṣadarbhas,¹ occupying all the Panjab except the north-west portion. Śivi was a famous king, who greatly extended his sway,² so that he must have conquered much of the Panjab, which was divided afterwards into those kingdoms. The Panjab was the country of the Druhyus, whose power Māndhātṛ had broken, as already mentioned; so it appears Śivi must have driven them back into the remaining portion of the Panjab, namely the north-western corner; and this agrees with the mention that Angāra's son, the next Druhyu king, was Gāndhāra, who gave his name to that country.³ There the Druhyus maintained their position permanently, and it is said that five generations afterwards they multiplied and founded many principalities in the mleccha countries in the northern region beyond India.⁴

The other branch of the Ānavas under Titikṣu moved eastward, and, passing beyond Videha and the Vaiśāla kingdom, descended into east Behar, among the ruder Saudyumna stock, and founded a kingdom, which was called the kingdom in the East,⁵ and which afterwards divided into Aṅga and four other kingdoms, as will be explained.

About this time lived Kuśa, king of Kānyakubja, and his younger son Amūrtarayas⁶ is said to have carved out

¹ Position uncertain.

² MBh vii, 58; xii, 29, 932-7; iii, 293, 16674.

³ Vā 99, 9-10; Hv 32, 1839-40; Mt 48, 6-7.

⁴ Vā 99, 10-12; Mt 48, 8-9; Vṣ iv, 17, 2. This is noteworthy with regard to the inscription of later date found at Boghaz-keui, mentioning Indian gods.

⁵ Bḍ iii, 74, 24; Br 13, 27; Mt 48, 22; Vā 99, 25.

⁶ Vā 91, 62; Vṣ iv, 7, 3; Hv 27, 1425.

for himself a kingdom from the branch of the Saudyumna stock in the country known afterwards as Magadha.¹ His son Gaya Āmūrtarayasa reigned in the Gayā district, and was a king of note.² Nothing more, however, is known of this dynasty.³

It was also about this time, apparently, that the Śāryāta kingdom in Ānarta perished.⁴ Kuśasthalī was captured by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas,⁵ and the Śāryātas fled inland to other countries, where they developed into bands of noble kṣatriyas called Śāryātas; and it is probably they who are mentioned not long afterwards as forming one of the five bands of the Haihaya-Tālaṅghas.

The Bhārgavas were the priests of the Haihaya kings, and grew wealthy, but enmity arose between them, and the Bhārgavas fled northward.⁶ Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya monarch,⁷ turned to Datta the Ātreya. He was a famous cakravartin and samrāj, and raised the Haihaya power to pre-eminence by his character and conquests during his long reign. He captured the town Māhiṣmatī, on the rocky island Māndhātā in the River Narbadā,⁸ from the Karkoṭaka Nāgas, and made it his fortress-capital. He extended his sway to the sea on the west and into Madhyadeśa northwards. He defeated Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā, who had come northwards on conquest.⁹

¹ Rm i, 32, 1-8, with next note.

² MBh iii, 95, 8518-20, 8527-39 with 84, 8060-4.

³ The Rm suggests the country was afterwards occupied by Yakṣas and Rākṣasas (i, 25, 12-14 read with i, 32, 7-10), but confuses the genealogies.

⁴ Vā 88, 1-4; Br 7, 37-41; Vṣ iv, 2, 1-2.

⁵ Probably from the sea. May *Puṇya-jana* be connected with the country *Punt*?

⁶ MBh i, 178, 6802-179, 6827; xiii, 56, 2905-10.

⁷ Vā 94, 9-43; Mt 43, 17-39; Br 13, 160-194; Vṣ iv, 11, 3-6; MBh ii, 14, 649-50; xii, 49, 1751-9; xiii, 152, 7188-95.

⁸ The identification of Māhiṣmatī with Māndhātā is established in JRAS, 1910, pp. 444-7, 867-9; and corroborated by Hv 33, 1870; and Br 13, 178.

⁹ See *Rāvaṇa* in connexion with Rāma, p. 285, *infra*.

The Bhārgavas appear to have taken to arms at that time. R̥cika Aurva, who was the chief Bhārgava rishi then, allied himself by marriage with Gāthin or Gādhi, king of Kānyakubja,¹ and his son Jamadagni married a princess of Ayodhyā.² Gādhi was succeeded by his son Viśvaratha, who, however, relinquished his kingdom and became a brahman with the name Viśvāmitra,³ being succeeded by his son Aṣṭaka.⁴

The enmity between the Haihayas and Bhārgavas brought on a conflict between Arjuna's sons and Jamadagni's son Rāma. They murdered Jamadagni, and Rāma, who was a great warrior,⁵ is said to have killed Arjuna, and most of them and many Haihayas.⁶ Fable adds that Rāma in his vengeance killed off all kṣatriyas from the earth twenty-one times,⁷ but this will be noticed further on.

Arjuna's chief successor was his son Jayadhvaja, who was king in Avanti, and his son and successor was Tālajaṅgha. Tālajaṅgha had many sons, chief of whom was Vītihoṭra; and his descendants, the Tālajaṅghas, developed so greatly that the name Tālajaṅgha became almost equivalent to Haihaya. The Haihayas comprised five great bands, the Vītihoṭras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis, and Tuṇḍikeras, all of whom were reckoned Tālajaṅghas.⁸ The Haihaya dominion stretched from the sea to the lower part of the Ganges-Jumna doab, and thence to Kāśī.⁹ They continued their raids into North India (just as the Marāṭhas did in modern times), for there is no suggestion

¹ MBh iii, 115, 11044-54; Vā 91, 66; Hv 27, 1430-1.

² MBh iii, 115, 11067-116; Vā 91, 85, 89-92; Hv 27, 1453-4.

³ See JRAS, 1913, p. 886.

⁴ See JRAS, 1913, p. 888; MBh iii, 197, 13301-2.

⁵ MBh vii, 70, 2427, 2446; Vā 91, 90-1; Hv 27, 1454-5.

⁶ MBh xii, 49, 1760-9; iii, 115-17; vii, 70: Vā 94, 46-7; Mt 43, 42-3; Hv 33, 1887-8.

⁷ MBh vii, 70, 2444; xii, 49, 1775-8.

⁸ Vā 94, 48-53; Mt 43, 45-9; Hv 34, 1891-8; Lg i, 68, 10-13, 16-19; Br. 13, 199-207.

⁹ MBh xiii, 30, 1946, 1950-1.

that they founded new dynasties in the countries they conquered; and it is probable that they overthrew the Kānyakubja kingdom, for it disappeared about this time.¹ The realm of Ayodhyā then lay open to assault. The disorganization caused by the long-continued Haihaya raids left North India a tempting prey to the hardy races of the north-west, and Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas and Pāradas poured in and joined with the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas in an attack on Ayodhyā. The king Bāhu² was driven from his throne and died in the forest, but his queen was succoured by the Bhārgava rishi, Aurva, in his hermitage. Her son Sagara was born there, and was trained in arms by Aurva. During this interval of some twenty years or more the further progress of the marauders was stayed, for the Videha and Vaiśāla kingdoms were not overthrown apparently, and the foreigners seem to have settled down in the countries they had overrun.

The destruction wrought by the Haihayas and foreign hordes³ may be imagined by comparing the deplorable condition to which India was reduced by the Marāṭha power and the Persian and Afghan invasions in the eighteenth century. The two periods are remarkably alike. These events are nowhere described connectedly, but are summed up in the brahmanical fable that Rāma Jāmadagnya destroyed all kṣatriyas off the earth twenty-one times. He began hostilities with the Haihayas, but it was the Haihayas who, bent on conquest, attacked all kingdoms, overthrew dynasties and destroyed the kṣatriyas by their long-continued raids.⁴

¹ Aṣṭaka's son Lauhi is the last king mentioned, JRAS, 1913, p. 888.

² Vā 88, 122-43; Br 8, 29-51; Hv 13, 760-84; Rm ii, 110, 15-25 (briefly, calling Bāhu *Asita*).

³ It is noticed in MBh xii, 49, 1783-6.

⁴ As Rāma began, the subsequent slaughter was attributed to him. Rāma certainly did not exterminate the Haihayas, for they were rising into great power as the "Tālajaṅghas" during his life.

The first kingdom to reassert itself appears to have been Kāśi. Its kings had carried on a long struggle with the Haihayas, and at length Pratardana, son of Divodāsa II, defeated the Vītahavyas or Vītihotras and recovered his territory,¹ though Vārāṇasī itself was not regained till later by his grandson Alarka.²

By this time Sagara had attained manhood and entered on a fight for his own kingdom of Ayodhyā.³ He vanquished the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas and the foreigners, and re-established the Aikṣvāku dynasty there. He also subdued the enemies throughout North India and became a cakravartin⁴; in fact, he annihilated the Haihaya dominion and nothing more is said of Haihayas till long afterwards. They appear to have continued in their own territory in the Narbadā valley, but only as a small kingdom merged in the great branch of the Yādavas. Sagara also resolved to exterminate the foreigners who had settled down in his kingdom, if not throughout North India⁵; but the then Vasiṣṭha, the royal priest of Ayodhyā, who had maintained his position apparently under the Haihaya rule, interposed in their favour and prevented him. Sagara then spared their lives, but abrogated their religious usages and imposed degrading distinctions on them — which naturally disappeared in the course of time.⁶

During the height of the Haihaya dominion a young prince of the Yādava branch, named Jyāmagha, was expelled by his elder brothers and sought his fortune southwards in and beyond the upper Narbadā valley, and founded a principality among the Rkṣa Hills (the

¹ MBh xiii, 30, 1958-76 : JRAS, 1910, p. 38 : Vā 92, 64-5.

² Vā 92, 68 ; Hv 29, 1591 ; 32, 1748-9.

³ Vā 88, 124-5, 135-43 ; Hv 13, 774-84 ; Vṣ iv, 3, 18-21 ; MBh iii, 106, 8831-2.

⁴ MBh xii, 29, 1023-9 ; Hv 13, 785 ; Vā 88, 144.

⁵ See n. ³ for references.

⁶ The rest of the story of Sagara is marvellous, the birth of his 60,000 sons, his horse-sacrifice and their destruction. Vā 88, 144-52 ; Hv 13, 790-807 ; MBh iii, 106, 8831-107, 9913.

Satpura range), apparently in Vidarbha, for his son was called Vidarbha and the main line of his successors reigned there.¹

When Sagara established his empire over North India, the only noticeable kingdoms that had survived were Kāśi, Videha, the Vaiśāla realm, the Ānava kingdom in the east, Turvasu's line in the hilly country of Rewa and the new state of Vidarbha in the Dekhan. All the other kingdoms had perished or been subjugated. But on his death his empire declined, and the submerged dynasties recovered themselves, especially those at a distance; thus the Kaikeyas, Madras, etc., in the Panjab appear to have revived; the Yādavas of Vidarbha extended their power northward and founded the kingdom of Cedi² in the country lying along the south of the Jumna; and the Kāśi kingdom formed the new principality of Vatsa in the south of the Ganges-Jumna doab.³

The Paurava claimant then was Duṣyanta, who had been adopted as heir by Marutta, son of Karandhama, of Turvasu's line.⁴ He recovered his ancestral kingdom and re-established the Paurava dynasty which had been out of power since Māndhātṛ's time. His son was Bharata, who was a cakravartin⁵ and samrāj,⁶ a famous monarch; and his successors were known, not only as Pauravas, but more particularly as Bharatas⁷ and Bhāratas.⁸

The Ayodhyā kingdom rose to eminence again, first

¹ Vā 95, 27-38; Hv 37, 1979-89; Mt 44, 28-38; Vṣ iv, 12, 2-14.

² Vā 95, 38; Mt 44, 38; Lg i, 68, 40; Vṣ iv, 12, 15.

³ Hv 29, 1597; 32, 1753; Vā 92, 65, 73; Br 11, 60; 13, 78.

⁴ Vā 99, 133 with 1-4; Mt 49, 10 with 48, 1-3; Hv 32, 1721 with 1830-4; Vṣ iv, 19, 2 with 16, 1-2; JRAS, 1910, p. 43.

⁵ MBh i, 74, 3119-21; Hv 32, 1723; Vā 99, 133-4; Mt 49, 11.

⁶ MBh ii, 14, 649-50.

⁷ MBh iv, 64, 2035 and in brahmanical literature: but its use is rare in kṣatriya tradition except in compounds as *Bharatarṣabha*, *Bharata-sattama*.

⁸ The general term; MBh i, 2, 371; 74, 3223; 94, 3709; Mt 24, 71; 49, 11; Vā 99, 134.

under Bhagīratha,¹ and again under his third successor Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi²; but no changes occurred except that the large and indefinite Ānava kingdom over the Saudyumnas in the east became divided up into five kingdoms, Aṅga, Vāṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kālīṅga.³ The capital of Aṅga was Mālinī, and its name was changed afterwards to Campā or Campāvati (Bhagalpur) after king Campa.⁴

The Paurava kingdom had shifted its position north-westward, for its ancient site at Allahabad became the Vatsa realm (p. 282); and Bharata's fifth successor Hastin founded the city Hastināpura⁵ as his capital. It remained the Paurava capital for centuries onwards. It was about this time apparently, that king Viśāla founded the town Viśālā or Vaiśālī⁶ as the capital of the kingdom, which has been called the Vaiśāla kingdom in anticipation.

The Paurava dynasty grew great and formed fresh kingdoms under its king Ajamīḍha. His brother Dvimīḍha founded a new realm and dynasty, which may be called that of the Dvimīḍhas,⁷ and lay probably east of Hastināpura.⁸ A cousin named Rantideva Sāṅkr̥ti, a famous king, had a short-lived kingdom on the River

¹ MBh vii, 60; xii, 29, 956-63. Styled *samrāj*, MBh ii, 14, 649-50. After him the Ganges was named Bhāgīrathī, Vā 88, 167-9; etc.

² MBh vii, 64; xii, 29, 993-7: Vā 88, 171-2. But there was another and much earlier Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi, Hv 15, 813; Mt 11, 41; 12, 20.

³ Vā 99, 26-34, 85-6, 98; Mt 23-9, 77-8; Hv 31, 1682-93.

⁴ MBh xii, 5, 134; Vā 99, 105-6; Mt 48, 97; Hv 31, 1699.

⁵ MBh i, 95, 3787; Vā 99, 165; Hv 20, 1053-4. MBh i, 94, 3736 says it had been Bharata's residence; if so, Hastin gave it his name. The other names, *Gajasāhaya*, *Vāraṇāhaya*, etc., were probably mere puns, for its region was not elephant-country, having been occupied by the Ānavas long before.

⁶ See p. 270, n. 6.

⁷ Vā 99, 166, 184-93; Gr i, 140, 8, 14-16; Bh ix, 21, 21, 27-8. Mt 49, 70-9 and Hv 20, 1075-85 vary. Vṣ iv, 19, 10, 13-15 errs.

⁸ It must have adjoined the main Paurava territory, was not Pañcāla, and presumably bordered on Kosala (Mt 49, 75; Hv 20, 1081): also N. Pañcāla lay between it and S. Pañcāla (Hv 20, 1083-1112).

Chambal.¹ Ajamīdha's realm was divided on his death among his three sons, the main kingdom with the capital Hastināpura, and two others in the Krivi country, which was named Pañcāla afterwards, a northern kingdom of which the capital was then or soon afterwards Ahicchatrā,² and a southern of which the capital was afterwards Kāmpilya.³ All these three lines were Pauravas, Bhāratas and Ājamīdhas, but the latter two branches were distinguished afterwards as the kingdoms of North and South Pañcāla respectively, and those patronymics were appropriated to the main line at Hastināpura.⁴

The northern of these two kingdoms first rose to eminence, and in consequence of a jocular boast uttered by one of its early kings Bhṛmyaśva, the name, the "five capables" or *Pañcālas*, was given to his five sons.⁵ But the name Pañcāla grew into general and approved use as the name of this dynasty and realm, and superseding the old name of the country, Krivi, was extended to the whole Pañcāla country.⁶ Bhṛmyaśva was succeeded by his son Mudgala, and Mudgala's son became a brahman and originated the family of the Maudgalyas⁷; but the line continued under his descendants Vadhryaśva, Divodāsa and Srñjaya. These kings play an important part in the Rigveda,⁸ and their relationship to the Maudgalyas and the brahmanical order suggests how that followed naturally.

¹ MBh iii, 293, 16674; vii, 67; xii, 29, 1013-22: Mt 49, 35-7; Meghad. i, 46, where Comm. says his capital was Daśapura.

² Vā 99, 194-211; Mt 50, 1-16; Hv 32, 1777-95: MBh i, 138, 5509; 5515-16; Hv 20, 1111-12.

³ Vā 99, 170-82; Mt 49, 47-59; Vṣ iv, 19, 11-13. MBh i, 138, 5509, 5512-13; Hv 23, 1252.

⁴ e.g. Samvarana (see *infra*) is called Ājamīdha, MBh i, 94, 3737.

⁵ Probably humorously; cf. our title "Prime Minister". If so, it is obvious why the name does not occur in the Vedic hymns about these kings.

⁶ JRAS, 1910, pp. 48, 1328.

⁷ JRAS, 1910, p. 1330.

⁸ JRAS, 1910, p. 21, n. 3.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā again rose to eminence under Dilīpa II, surnamed Khaṭvāṅga, who was reckoned a cakravartin,¹ and under his successors Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha and Rāma. The story of Rāma brings South India into view definitely for the first time. As related in the Epics it appears largely as fable, yet the fable must have grown out of some basis, and the following features are worthy of notice in it.

There was a flourishing kingdom of people who are called Rākṣasas in Ceylon, with Laṅkā as their capital² and Rāvaṇa³ as their king; and there was a settlement of Rākṣasas in the lower Godavari valley called Janasthāna,⁴ which is treated as part of Rāvaṇa's realm; hence there must have been intercourse between the two, and that must obviously have been by sea. During all these centuries no change had taken place in the Dekhan politically except the founding of Vidarbha, but the religion of North India had penetrated into the Dekhan, because there is frequent mention of munis there whom the Rākṣasas had maltreated,⁵ and Agastya, whom tradition places earlier than Rāma, is called the conqueror of the south. The south was Agastya's region and his abode is said sometimes to have been on the Malaya Hills.⁶

¹ Vā 88, 182; MBh vii, 61; xii, 29, 964-73.

² See p. 272. The Rm describes Laṅkā in the most glowing terms (v, 4 ff.).

³ Two other Rāvaṇas have been mentioned (pp. 276, 278). *Rāvaṇa*, though Sanskrit in appearance, can hardly be a Sanskrit word, for it is not credible that any Rākṣasa king would have taken a Sanskrit name, when these Rākṣasas were bitterly hostile and are described as civilized. *Rāvaṇa* is probably the Tamil word *īreivan*, "God, king, sovereign, lord," Sanskritized—a fuller form of *īrei*, which has the same meanings. Malayalam has *irān*, "sire" (used in addressing princes), where the *r* shows it differs from Tamil *irāyan* (= Skt. *rājā*). Kanarese has *ērē* (and also apparently *irivata*), "master." Telugu seems to have lost the word. Tamil *ei* and Skt. *ā* constantly correspond, and *i* is mainly a helping vowel to *r*; hence *īreivan* may well have been Sanskritized as *Rāvaṇa*. If so, *Rāvaṇa* would be the royal title.

⁴ Rm ii, 116, 11; iii, 18, 25; MBh vii, 59, 2226.

⁵ Rm ii, 116, 11-19; 119, 18-20; MBh vii, 59, 2227.

⁶ Rm iii, 11, 78-83. MBh iii, 104, 8792-4. JRAS, 1910, p. 41.

Rāma avenged the munis' wrongs on the Rākṣasas.¹ Rāvaṇa carried Sītā off to Lankā.² Rāma with the aid of a people in South India called monkeys, whose capital was Kiṣkindhā³ (somewhere between the River Kṛṣṇā and the Nilgiris), crossed over to Ceylon by Adam's Bridge, killed Rāvaṇa and recovered Sītā. Thus the only civilized communities in South India then were in Janasthāna and at Kiṣkindhā. The Pāṇḍya kingdom did not exist then, for it is not mentioned, though Rāma passed through that very country to reach Adam's Bridge.

Rāma succeeded to the throne of Ayodhyā, and was reckoned a cakravartin.⁴ His brother Śatrughna conquered the Yādavas and founded the city Mathurā, where he and his two sons Subāhu and Śūrasēna reigned.⁵ His brother Bharata was related to the Kaikeyas in the Panjab, as his mother was a Kaikeya princess⁶; and his two sons, Takṣa and Puṣkara, had principalities at Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvatī respectively, both in the Gāndhāra country.⁷ The fourth brother Lakṣmaṇa had two sons, Aṅgada and Candraketu, and to them are assigned two countries near the Himalayas. Aṅgada had the town Aṅgadiyā in Kārapathadeśa, and Candraketu had the town Candracakrā.⁸ Rāma had two sons Kuśa and Lava. Kuśa succeeded him, and is said to have also founded the town Kuśasthalī on the Vindhya Hills.⁹ Lava obtained the northern portion of Kosala, with the famous city Śrāvastī.¹⁰

Rāma was the last cakravartin of the Ayodhyā line.

¹ MBh iii, 276, 15987; Rm iii, 25-30.

² Through the air; by sea would have been the natural way.

³ Rm iv, 13, 1: MBh iii, 279, 16107.

⁴ MBh vii, 59; xii, 29, 944-55.

⁵ Vā 88, 185-6; Hv 55, 3093-3101; 95, 5244-5; Rm vi, 68-70.

⁶ Rm i, 18, 13; 77, 15-17.

⁷ Vā 88, 189-90; Bḍ iii, 63, 190-1; Vṣ iv, 4, 47.

⁸ Vā 88, 187-8; Bḍ iii, 63, 188-9; Vṣ iv, 4, 47.

⁹ It is difficult to place this. It may perhaps have been north of Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

¹⁰ Vā 88, 198-200; Bḍ iii, 63, 198-200; Mt 12, 51.

After his death the Yādava king Bhīma recovered Mathurā, put an end to Śatrughna's line, and reigned there.¹ Nothing more is said of the two sub-Himalayan principalities of Lakṣmaṇa's sons, the two small Gāndhāra states of Bharata's sons disappeared among the Panjab kingdoms, and the Śrāvastī kingdom would seem to have been re-absorbed into Kosala. From this time onward the Ayodhyā and other eastern kingdoms played no important part in the political life of India, and the predominant actors were the Yādavas and Pauravas.

The Yādava king Bhīma appears to be Sātvata of the genealogies.² Sātvata had four sons,³ and his territory appears to have been divided among them thus. Andhaka, called the great Bhoja, reigned at Mathurā; and his descendants, the Andhakas, comprised the Andhakas proper and also his son Kukura's descendants, known as the Kukuras, who became the chief Yādava dynasty reigning at Mathurā, which was the chief Yādava capital.⁴ Another son, Devāvr̥dha, and his son Babhru were famous kings, and their lineage, which was very great, reigned in Mr̥ttikāvatī,⁵ a town in the upper region of the Narbada southward of Vatsabhūmi.⁶ A third son Vṛṣṇi established a dynasty which seems to have been in Gujarat.⁷ Devāvr̥dha's descendants were specially called the Bhojas,⁸ but this name was applied comprehensively to many branches of the Yādavas.⁹ There were other Yādava kingdoms, such as Avanti, Daśārṇa, Vidarbha and Māhiṣmatī, though this last seems rather to have been the remnant of the Haihayas.

¹ Hv 95, 5245-8. ² Vā 95, 45-7; Lg i, 68, 47-9; Hv 37, 1995-6.

³ Mt 44, 47-8; Vā 96, 1-2; Hv 38, 1999-2000.

⁴ Hv 38, 2014-30; Lg i, 69, 32-42; Vā 96, 115 (where read *Andhakāt* for *Satyakūt*)-142.

⁵ Vā 96, 6-17; Hv 38, 2004-14; Mt 44, 51-60.

⁶ MBh iii, 253, 15245-6 with Jyāmāgha's story (p. 281).

⁷ Vā 96, 17 ff.; Hv 39, 2040 (where read *Vṛṣṇer* for *Kroṣṭor*) ff.

⁸ Bḍ iii, 71, 18; Br 15, 45; Lg i, 69, 9; Vṣ iv, 13, 6.

⁹ MBh ii, 13, 570, 589; v, 157, 5351, 5366. See p. 279.

North Pañcāla continued to flourish under Srñjaya, Cyavana, Somadatta and Sudāsa.¹ Sudāsa raised it to its height, and it was he apparently who drove the Paurava king Saṁvaraṇa out of Hastināpura; but, when he was succeeded by Sahadeva and Somaka, the kingdom declined, and Saṁvaraṇa recovered his kingdom with Vasiṣṭha's aid. Saṁvaraṇa's son Kuru raised the Paurava kingdom to eminence. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra and pushed his rule beyond Prayāga, which means that he must have established a suzerainty over South as well as North Pañcāla, which was already defeated. His descendants were specially known as the Kurus and Kauravas, besides being Pauravaṣ, Bhāratas and Ājamīdhas.

A descendant of Kuru in the fifth degree, named Vasu, conquered the Yādava kingdom of Cedi and established himself there, whence he was styled Caidyoparicara. He extended his sway eastward as far as Magadha, and was reckoned a cakravartin.² On his death his territories were divided among his sons, the Vāsavas. The eldest Brhadratha obtained Magadha, built Girivraja as his capital³ and founded the famous Bārhadhratha dynasty. Another son had Cedi,⁴ and others the intervening realms of Karuṣa⁵ and Kauśāmbī (Vatsa).⁶ With the Bārhadhratha dynasty Magadha for the first time takes a real part in the 'history' of India.

Some little time later the Kauravas became eminent under Pratīpa and his successor Śantanu,⁷ and South Pañcāla under Brahmadata, who was a contemporary of Pratīpa.⁸ Ugrāyudha of the Dvimīdhas conquered

¹ JRAS, 1910, pp. 48-51; and p. 21, n. 3.

² JRAS, 1910, pp. 11, 22, 51. MBh i, 63, 2362; Hv 154, 8815.

³ Hv 117, 6598; MBh ii, 20, 798-800.

⁴ Hv 117, 6599-6601; Vṣ iv, 14, 11.

⁵ Vṣ iv, 14, 11.

⁶ See MBh i, 63, 2365.

⁷ MBh i, 95, 3797; v, 148, 5053-5; Hv 32, 1819.

⁸ Hv 20, 1047-9; MBh xii, 234, 8603.

North Pañcāla and was killed by Bhīṣma in battle ; and that line soon afterwards disappeared. Pr̥ṣata regained his own kingdom of North Pañcāla,¹ and also obtained South Pañcāla.²

Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, then rose to the highest power,³ and extended his authority as far west as Mathurā, where the Yādava king Kāṁsa, who had married two of his daughters, acknowledged him as overlord. Kāṁsa was a tyrant and Kṛṣṇa killed him. This brought down on Kṛṣṇa and the Bhojas of Mathurā Jarāsandha's wrath, and in fear they migrated in a body to Ānarta (Gujarat), and established themselves in Dvārakā.⁴

Drupada succeeded his father Pr̥ṣata in Pañcāla, but Droṇa with the help of the young Pāṇḍava and Kaurava princes conquered him, and keeping North Pañcāla for himself, gave Drupada South Pañcāla.⁵ The young Pāṇḍavas were then eager for fame, and Bhīma and Arjuna with Kṛṣṇa's help killed Jarāsandha, their common enemy.⁶

This brings the traditional account down to the time of the great Bhārata battle, and the kingdoms that existed then have been discussed before.⁷

We may now take stock of all the racial and political changes that had taken place. Of the Mānva kingdoms there remained three, those of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī; and the greater part of the Dekhan continued unchanged. The Saudyumna stock had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and its power was confined to the Utkalas and other tribes in the hilly tracts between Gayā and Orissa. All North and East Bengal was held by Prāgjyotiṣa, which is nowhere connected with any of these races and would seem to have been founded by an invasion of Mongolians from the north-east. All the rest of North

¹ Hv 20, 1071-3, 1082-1112.

² See n. ⁵ *infra*.

³ Called *samrāj*, MBh ii, 13, 571-86 ; Hv 91, 4963-72.

⁴ MBh ii, 13, 594-616 ; Hv 91, 4953-61 ; 117, 6579-86.

⁵ MBh i, 138 ; 166, 6344-54 ; Hv 20, 1113-15.

⁶ MBh ii, 19-23, 930.

⁷ JRAS, 1908, p. 309.

India and the north-west part of the Dekhan had been dominated by the Aila stock and was held thus:—

The Pauravas ruled the whole of the Ganges and Jumna valley from the Siwalik Hills to Magadha, except Śūrasena (which was Yādava) and Kāśi; namely, the kingdoms of Hastināpura, Pañcāla, Cedi, Vatsa, Karūṣa and Magadha. Kāśi was an Aila realm of earlier foundation (p. 273).

The Yādavas held all the country between the Rajputana desert and a line drawn roughly from Bombay to the south-east of Berar and then north to the River Ken (Śuktimatī), including Śūrasena but excluding Cedi and Vatsa (which however had belonged to them before the Paurava Vasu conquered them).

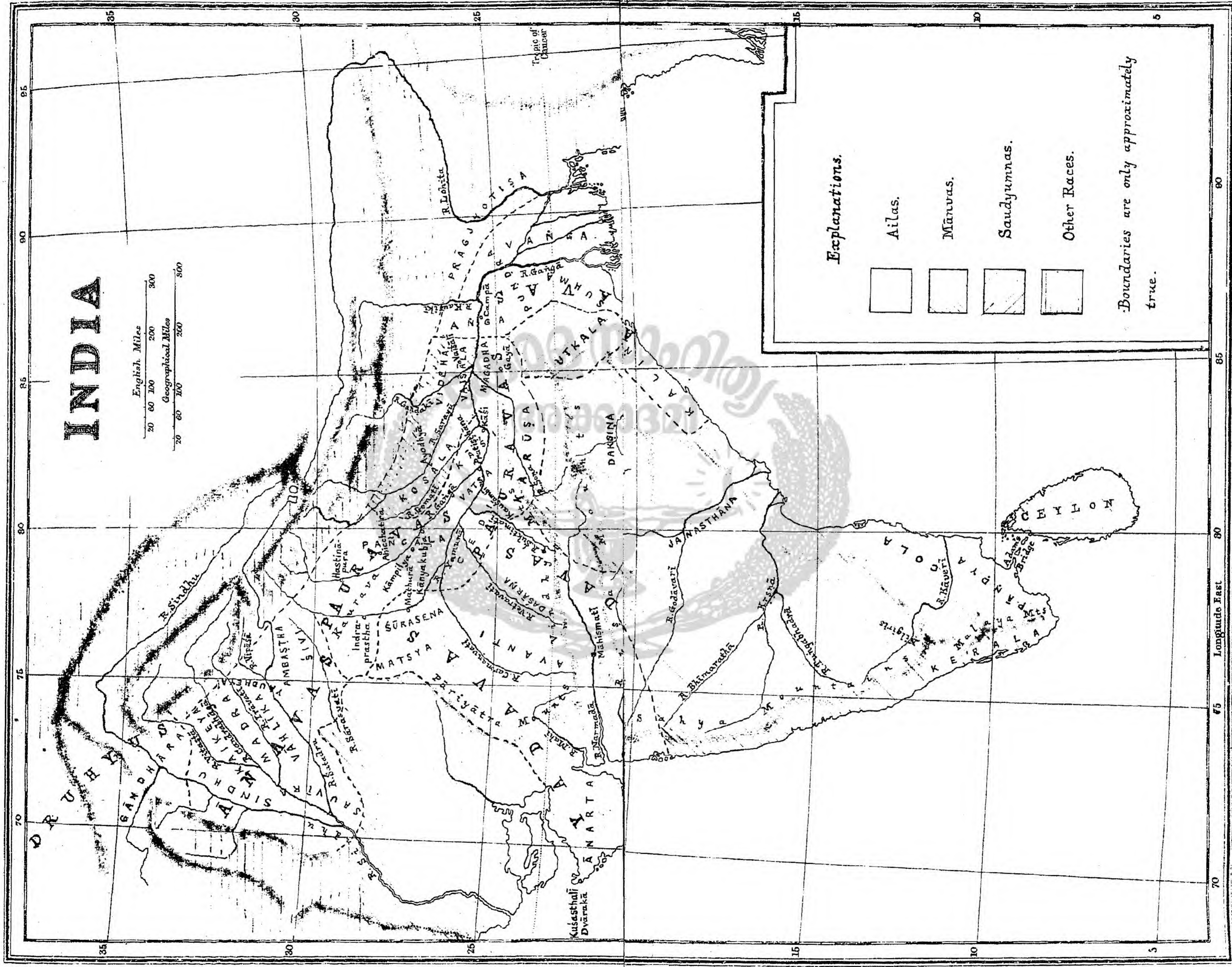
The Ānavas held all the Panjab west of Kurukṣetra, and all East Behar, Bengal proper and Orissa. The Druhyus held the Gāndhāra realm and the north-west frontier of the Panjab, and are said to have spread out into kingdoms beyond. The Turvasu line had failed, except that the Pāṇḍya, Cola and Kerala royal families in the extreme south claimed descent from it, or rather from Duṣyanta, who had been adopted into it (p. 282).¹

All the occurrences that have been set out are stated in tradition, and the chief authorities for every statement have been cited. Now, whatever doubt may attach to the arrangement of this account and the sequence in which the events have been narrated, yet two things are not open to such doubt, namely, the initial position and the ultimate position; and tradition is definite about them, that is (1) that the Aila race began with Purūravas at Allahabad, and (2) that ultimately it dominated all the countries of North India (except the three kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī) and the north-west of the Dekhan, and that all the reigning families therein were Aila. The ultimate position is shown in the annexed map, where boundaries can of course be only regarded as approximate.

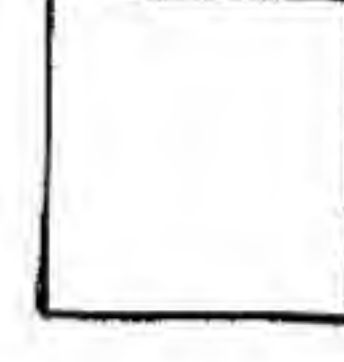
¹ Mt 48, 4-5; Vā 99, 5-6; Hv 32, 1835-6.

INDIA

English Miles
20 60 100 200 300
Geographical Miles
20 60 100 200 300



Explanations.



Ailas.



Māruvas.



Saudyumnas.



Other Races.

Boundaries are only approximately true.

70 75 80 85 90 95

Longitude East

80

85

90

The broad result then stands out clear, that the Aila stock began with Purūravas in a small principality at Allahabad, and dominated the whole of North India down to Vidarbha,¹ with the exception of the three Mānva countries of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī; and those countries had been profoundly influenced by Aila thought and culture. Now this result is precisely what is known as the Aryan occupation of India, so that what is called the Aryan race is what Indian tradition calls the Aila or Lunar race; that is, Aila=Aryan. The Saudyumna stock without doubt represents a distinct race, but I am not prepared to suggest what it should be called ethnologically.² The Mānva stock, which held all the rest of India with the three kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī, would naturally appear to declare itself Dravidian.³

It will thus be seen that Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aryan invasion of India from the north-west, nor of any gradual advance of the Aryans from thence eastwards. It makes the Aryan power begin at Allahabad and spread its dominion thence in all directions except over Kosala, Videha and Vaiśālī; and tradition even says there was an Aryan outflow of the Druhyus through the north-west into Afghanistan and beyond (p. 277).

Yet tradition does not say the Ailas or Aryans originated in India, but distinctly suggests that they came from outside. The legends and myths about the progenitor Purūravas Aila all connect him with the middle Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region. He was closely associated with the Gandharvas. His wife Urvaśī was a Gandharvī.⁴ The regions he frequented were the Rivers

¹ The five races descended from Yayāti overspread the entire earth; Vā 93, 103; Bḍ iii, 68, 105-6; Hv 30, 1619-20.

² See further, p. 293, n. 2.

³ For this reason I dislike the term *Mānva*, but can think of none better.

⁴ Vā 91, 9; Bḍ iii, 66, 9; Hv 26, 1374.

Mandākinī and Alakā, the Caitraratha and Nandana forests, the mountains Gandhamādana and Meru, and the country of the Northern Kurus.¹ The Gandharvas are assigned to those regions. From them he obtained sacrificial fire, he himself ultimately became a Gandharva, and his sons were known among them.² Further, Purūravas is said in some accounts to have been born in the northern country Ilāvṛta, which was so named after his parent Ilā.³

Now these tales are mythical, and tradition becomes mythical when it reaches back to its utmost limits; yet such myths do not spring from nothing, but must have had some basis. They certainly suggest that Purūravas' origin was in that north region. This inference is supported by the fact that that region, the middle region in and beyond the Himalayas, has always been the sacred and ancient land of the Indians. The north-west frontier had no ancient associations or memories of any kind, and never had any sanctity. This is a remarkable fact of the first importance. All ancient Indian belief was bound up with that middle region, and it was thither that rishis and kings turned their steps when they sought the ancient inspiration—never to the north-west.⁴

Tradition and myth therefore concur in suggesting that Purūravas came originally from beyond the middle Himalayan region; that is, that the Aila or Āryan race entered India from that direction. Myth names the country Ilāvṛta in the far north as the land from which the race came when it entered India. Purūravas' name Aila occurs in the Rigveda (x, 95, 7, 18) and is therefore

¹ Vā 91, 5-8; Br 10, 5-8; Hv 26, 1367-70.

² Vā 91, 40-8, 51; Hv 26, 1402-10; Br 10, 11; Ag 273, 14.

³ So Mt 11, 43-66; 12, 12-15; Pd v, 8, 82-105, 117-120. Bḍ iii, 60, 23-8, adopts the story partially and ineptly; and Vā 85, 25-8 similarly, with the first part lost.

⁴ See Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, ii, pp. 323-39, where all the passages agree with this view, except the two quotations about Kashmir.

very ancient—more ancient than the stories about Ilā and Ilā.¹ Some importance may therefore be attached to the myth which connects it with the first part of the word Ilāvṛta; and the fables about Ilā and Ilā or Idā were probably devised in later times to explain the name Aila.² Such explanatory stories are common in Sanskrit literature, but the connexion between Aila and Ilāvṛta would not have suggested itself naturally, is surprising and may therefore be a truly ancient relic.

A few words may be said about what tradition suggests regarding the Vedic age. To arrange the reputed authors of the hymns chronologically, as far as possible, with the aid of tradition is a large and arduous task that has yet to be done; still, my examination of tradition has incidentally touched many of them, and I offer a few remarks provisionally. Various hymns are attributed to persons who lived in the earliest ages, but it is with Viśvāmitra's time that we enter definitely on the Vedic period. Most of the reputed authors who are mentioned in tradition are later than his time, and the list reaches down to Devāpi (the eldest brother of king Śantanu)³ who lived about half a century before Vyāsa. Hence the period of the hymns did not close till just before Vyāsa's time, and it would follow that he not only arranged them as tradition says, but must have also compiled them into the Rigvedic canon. It could have been only a rishi of commanding ability, knowledge and eminence, who could have brought into one compilation

¹ See JRAS, 1913, p. 412.

² It may be mentioned that Sudyumna, into whom Ilā was turned, is said to have been a *kimpuruṣa* and finally departed to Ilāvṛta; Mt 12, 16, 19; Pd v, 8, 121, 124; Lg i, 65, 22. The *kimpuruṣas* were also placed in that same north region. Myth thus connected the Sudyumna stock also with that land. Further, it is said in Mt 12, 18 and Pd v, 8, 123, that the Kurus, that is, the Northern Kurus, belonged to or were subject to that stock. These allusions suggest that that stock, which held East India, came also originally from the north.

³ Nirukta ii, 10; Brhadd. vii, 156; MBh v, 148, 5054-5.

all the hymns composed by the different and sometimes rival brahmanical families and also a large quantity of hymns of miscellaneous authorship; and have established that compilation as a canon accepted unquestionably by all subsequent times. No rishi is mentioned who could have accomplished that except Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa.

If we may estimate the date of the great Bhārata battle as 1000 B.C. approximately, Devāpi would be placed about a century earlier. If further we form a chronological estimate from the genealogical table in JRAS, 1910, pp. 26-9 (and we have no other basis to work upon), Viśvāmitra may be placed, at a very moderate computation, about seven centuries earlier than the battle. Hence without attempting precision the Vedic age may be estimated as 1700 to 1100 B.C. approximately, from tradition.

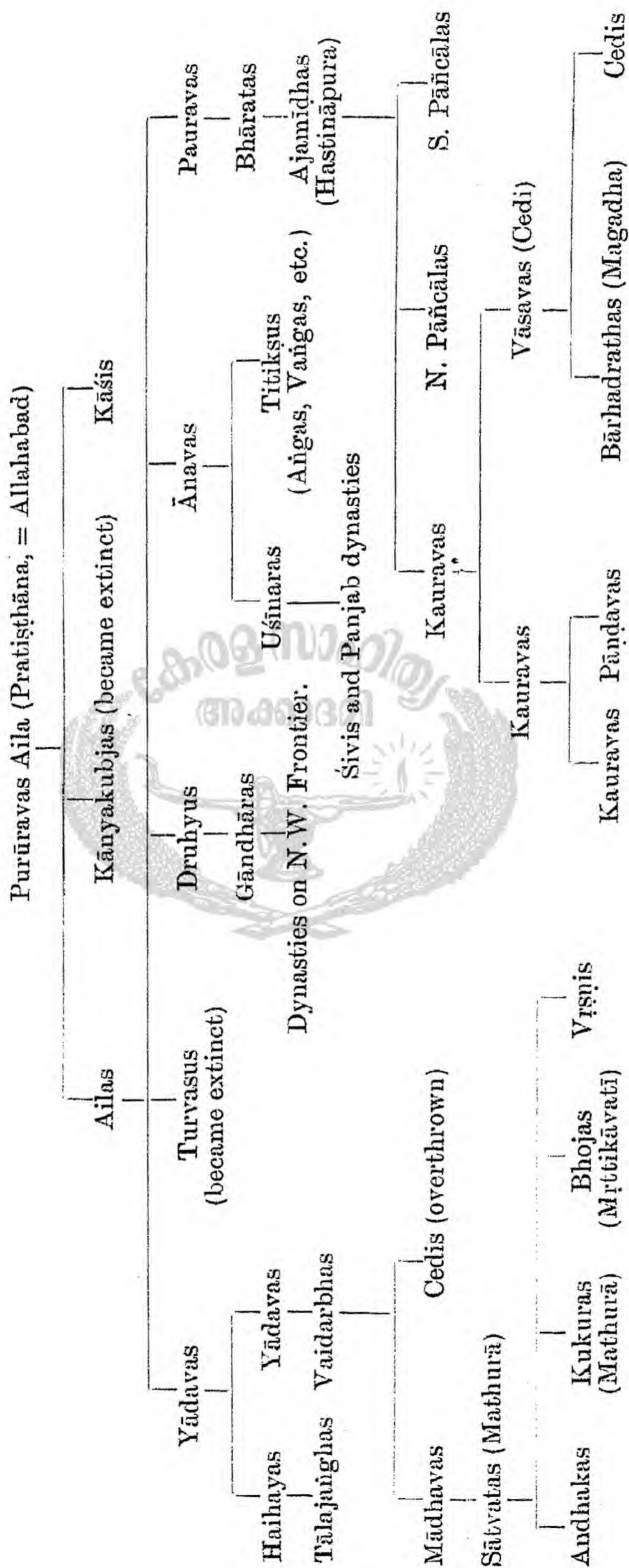
It may be objected that the language of the hymns betrays no marked differences commensurate with so long a period, and to this point the following suggestion may be offered with all deference to Vedic scholars. It would, I imagine, be generally conceded that no sacred literature attains to verbal veneration until it has been definitely formed into a canon and finally closed; before that it is no doubt sacred, but it has not acquired rigid sanctity. Hymns handed down orally during the centuries before the formation of the canon could hardly escape being gradually and imperceptibly modified in their diction as the language gradually changed, so that, when they were at last compiled into the canon, their language would be rather that of the age when the canon was formed than that of the ages when they were composed. If this suggestion be reasonable, it would explain why there is no very marked difference in the language of the hymns, though they manifestly purport to have been composed during a very long period.

This presentation of what Indian tradition says about the earliest times differs greatly from what scholars have deduced from a study of the Veda and the Vedic literature; yet may I in conclusion offer, as a plea for a fair consideration of it, this question: Can a complete account be constructed if we put aside the copious tradition left by the kṣatriyas, who played the chief part in establishing the Aryan dominion by their conquests?

In order to show at a glance the development of the Aila (or Lunar) race a concise genealogical table is added on the next page. It exhibits the principal ruling families and dynasties of the Ailas, and does not deal with the populace in the countries and capitals mentioned.



AILA RACE



VIII

GLEANINGS FROM SHABARA

BY COLONEL GEORGE A. JACOB, INDIAN ARMY.

IT is passing strange that this ancient and interesting author, whose exposition of the Mīmāṃsā sūtras is the oldest now extant, should be so much neglected by modern students of Sanskrit. Yet one would suppose that a writer who offered an interpretation of Vedic ritual, and who preceded Sāyaṇa by nearly twelve centuries, would never fail to receive attention from students of the most ancient literature of India. But there are others to whom a good knowledge of Mīmāṃsā is of importance. It is no exaggeration to say that, without that knowledge, it would be impossible rightly to comprehend the larger treatises on Vedānta—notably those of the very learned Appaya Dīkṣita, in which very lengthy disquisitions on Mīmāṃsā topics abound — or even Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamanjarī*.

Quotations from Śabara are found in all such works though not to the same extent as those from the famous Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila, who probably flourished in the seventh century of our era.¹ Dr. Gangānāth Jhā, of Allāhabād, has done great service by his translations of those very abstruse works the *Ślokavārtika* and *Tantravārtika*, which, together with his very helpful work entitled “The Prābhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā”, which he prepared as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Letters, have brought a valuable body of Mīmāṃsā lore within reach of even those unacquainted with Sanskrit.

I have recently prepared for my own use a somewhat full Index to the first six Books of Śabara's bhāṣya, and

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv, p. 613.

now offer a few items from it as samples of the interesting matter to be found there. There are one or two references to Mahādeo Moreśvara Kunte's unfinished work entitled *Ṣaḍdarśanacintanikā*. It contains a translation of the sūtras of the first five books of Jaimini's treatise and of part of the sixth book. His renderings are not very lucid, but there is a good deal of useful information in the notes; and, most important of all, to my mind, he gives references to a large number of the Vedic passages explained in the bhāṣya. The *Vedic Index* occasionally mentioned is, of course, that compiled by Professor A. A. Macdonell and Dr. A. B. Keith, and published in 1912. The *Vedic Concordance* is the gigantic work by Professor Bloomfield, which forms vol. x of the Harvard Oriental Series.

All but the last of the nyāyas quoted below are included in the latest editions of my *Popular Sanskrit Maxims*, but the references now given to Śabara's bhāṣya are new.

1. **अवयुत्यवाद** ॥ This uncommon technical term (from the root यु "to separate") is found under sūtras 3. 7. 32-5, where Kunte defines it as "a particular statement which narrows the application of a general statement". In the *adhikaraṇa* comprised by those four sūtras an inquiry is made as to whether the Vedic declaration **सौम्यस्याध्वरस्य यचक्रतोः सप्तदशर्विजः**, "the sacrificial rites of a Soma sacrifice have [or require] seventeen priests," is an example of **अवयुत्यवाद**, or whether it is merely a **परिसंख्याविधि**, that is, an injunction limiting the number of priests, without in any way discriminating between them. The *pūrvapakṣa* assigns it to the former, but that view is shown to be untenable. In the *Bhāmatī*, under *Vedānta-sūtra* 1. 1. 23, we find the expression **अवयुत्यानुवाद**, which in the *Kalpataru* (a commentary on *Bhāmatī*) appears as **अवयुत्यवाद**, and is defined as **एकदेशस्य विभज्य कथनम्**.

Since the number of priests for a Soma sacrifice is limited to *sixteen*, how is it that the above passage provides for *seventeen*? This point is dealt with in sūtras 36-8, where, after disposing of the suggestion that the *Śadasya* is the seventeenth, it is decided that the *Svāmī*, or patron for whom the sacrifice is offered, is the additional man.

Professor Eggeling's note on *Śatap. Brāh.* x. 1. 4. 19, which forbids the employment of a seventeenth priest, is of interest: "This prohibition is probably directed against the Kaushitakins, who recognize a seventeenth priest, the *Sadasya*, who seems to have taken no other part in the sacrificial performance except sitting in the *Sadas* as the permanent custodian thereof."

2. **इन्द्रबाहु** ॥ In the *bhāṣya* on sūtras 6. 2. 16-18 there is a discussion as to whether in everyday life, as in the performance of religious rites, everything commenced must of necessity be carried to completion. The *primâ facie* view is that it is as imperative in the former as it is known to be in the latter, since both alike have their codes of laws which prescribe penalties for those who fail. The following, for example, is laid down for artificers : **आरे भग्ने इन्द्रबाहुर्बद्धव्यः पायसं च ब्राह्मणो भोजयितव्यः** which Kunte renders thus: "In the case of a spoke being broken, a flag is to be hoisted, and a Brāhman is to be fed with a milk-preparation." Now, apart from the absurdity of hoisting a flag as a remedy for a damaged (probably *bent*, rather than *broken*) spoke, one would like to know the authority for attaching such a meaning to **इन्द्रबाहु**, since it is not to be found in the lexicons and is not explained in the commentaries. In the Marāṭhī dictionary, however, we find **इन्द्रबाही**, which Molesworth defines as "a common term for the central and the two side-slips which lie along a door". What these slips are I cannot say, but they would seem to be intended to strengthen or bind together the component parts of a door; and it is

just such a sense as this that is required for **इन्द्रवाङ्म** if it is to be worthy of its name, and useful for straightening a bent spoke or splicing a split one.

3. **उत्ताना वै देवगवा वहन्ति ॥** This curious statement—"the cows of the gods walk on their backs"—is *Āpast. Śrautasūtra*, xi, 7. 6, and is quoted by Śabara (under sūtra 1. 3. 30) in support of the argument of an objector that words are used in the Veda in a different sense from that attached to them in common life. In this case it is urged that *go* cannot possibly mean "cow". The Siddhāntin of course rejects this view, and Kumārila attempts to remove the difficulty by suggesting (*Tantravārtika*, p. 245) that possibly the cows are on the *earth*, and that when in its revolution it passes over the abode of the gods, the cows appear to be walking upside down! One wonders why he did not reverse this and place the spectators on the earth and the cows in heaven, so as to justify the expression "the cows of the gods".

4. **उत्सूत्रिक ॥** Readers of the *Mahābhāṣya* will remember the simpler form of this word in the sentence **यो ह्युत्सूत्रं कथयेन्नादो गृह्येत**, which Dr. Kielhorn¹ rendered "If anybody (in interpreting a rule) should say anything that is *not contained in the sūtra*, such a statement would not be accepted". The derivative employed by Śabara is found under sūtra 6. 8. 36, whilst Vācaspati Miśra twice uses **उत्सूत्र** in his comment on *Yogabhāṣya*, iv, 15. Besides the above I know of no examples of the word, in either form, in philosophical writings.

5. **उपदंशन, उपदंशित ॥** These words are clearly used by Śabara under sūtra 6. 8. 35 in the sense of "indication" and "indicated" respectively; but it is not easy to deduce that meaning from **दंश्** "to bite". In the *Dhātupāṭha*, xxxiii, 91, there is a root **दशि** "to speak", or "shine", but perhaps the more probable source of the two words is

¹ JRAS. 1908, p. 499, on Māgha, ii, 112.

the Prākṛit root *danse*, "to show," for which see Monier-Williams, s.v. दंश्.

The passage in which the words occur forms part of a lengthy discussion (under sūtras 6. 8. 30-42) as to the meaning of the word पशु in the sentence यो दीक्षितो यदग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभते (TS. vi, 1. 11. 6), the decision being that ऋग "a goat" is intended. The sentence with which we are concerned is the following :
 ऋगोपकरणमस्योपदंशितं यदुपदंशने पशुशब्दश्छागाभिप्राय इति गम्यते । यथा युगवरत्रे उपदंशिते ईषाचक्रादिसन्निधाने चेदक्षमान-
 येत्युच्यते तदा यानाक्षमधिकृत्य ब्रूत इति गम्यते न तु विदेवनाक्षमिति ॥

6. जामि ॥ Under sūtra 2. 2. 9 Śabara quotes and discusses the mantra (TS. 2. 6. 6. 4) जामि वा एतद्वज्रस्य क्रियते यदन्वञ्चौ पुरोडाशौ, उपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजत्यजामित्वाय "the fault of repetition [or, of too close a connexion] is brought upon a sacrifice when two cakes are offered in succession; he therefore offers the low-voiced oblation in between them, in order to avoid that fault". It is strange that here, as well as in his bhāṣya on a similar passage in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 47, Sāyaṇa should have taken this word to be the equivalent of आलस्य, and that Dr. Haug, following him, rendered it "laziness". One of the three meanings assigned to it in *Nirukta*, iv, 20, is पुनरुक्त, and in his translation of *Śatap. Brāhmaṇa*, 1. 3. 2. 8 and 1. 6. 3. 27, Professor Eggeling rendered it "(the fault of) a repetition" and "(the fault of) sameness", a meaning clearly required by the context. It is a pity, therefore, that the compilers of the *Vedic Index* omitted that sense of the word. It may be added that the word जामिता is found in *Sankṣepaśārīraka*, i, 161, where the commentator explains it by पर्यायता, one meaning of which is "repetition".

Since the only example of the verb भिषज् given in the lexicons is that of R.V. viii, 79. 2 (quoted by them as viii, 68. 2), namely भिषक्ति विश्वं यत्तुरम् "all that is sick

he medicines" (Griffith), it may be of interest to note that, in the discussion on the Taittirīya mantra, Śabara twice uses this verb in the sense of "to remedy". He says: **आग्नेयाम्नीषोमीययोर्निरन्तरं क्रियमाणयोर्जामितादोष उक्तस्तं भिषजितुमुपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजतीति विहितम्.** Then, a little further on, **कथं तेन भिषजिष्यते.**

7. **तुम्ब** ॥ As the "nave" of a wheel this word is not found in Sanskrit lexicons; but Molesworth includes it, in that sense, under **तुम्बा**. It is found in the bhāṣya (i, 4. 20) in the sentence **शोभनमस्य चक्रस्य नेमितुम्बारम्.**

8. **नैचाशाख** ॥ Various meanings have been assigned to this word,¹ which is found only in R.V. iii, 53. 14, a mantra commencing with the words **किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावः** ॥ According to Śabara (1. 2. 39) it is the name of a city. He says: **कीकटा नाम जनपदाः । नैचाशाखं नगरं प्रमङ्गदो (sic) राजा** ॥ So, too, Kumārila, **प्रमङ्गदस्य कीकटाधिपतेर्यद्वेदो धनं तदस्माकं नैचाशाखं नगरमाभर.** On p. 4 of his introduction to the R̥igveda, Sāyana quotes Śabara's explanation, as above; but in the interpretation of the mantra he makes *naicāśākha* an epithet of वेदस्.

9. **परिभोजनीय** ॥ This word is new to me and is not found in the dictionaries. It is used by Śabara (3. 8. 32) as an epithet of बर्हिस् in the sense of असंस्कृत "unconsecrated"—or possibly as itself the name of some kind of grass—and used for making the पवित्र. Mādhava explains it thus: **पवित्रनिष्पत्तिरपि शास्त्रीयलवनादिसंस्काररहितैः परिभोजनीयनामकैर्दर्भैः सम्पादनीया.** This is confirmed by the *Śāstradīpikā*, असंस्कृतादेव [बर्हिषः] पवित्रादि कार्यम्.

10. **पवित्र** ॥ Under the same sūtra as the above we find the following in connexion with the Darśapūrṇamāsa ceremonial: **समावप्रच्छिन्नाग्रौ दर्भौ प्रादेशमात्रौ पवित्रे करोति** "Of two blades of darbha grass, of equal length, viz. each a span long, and with the points unbroken, he makes two pavitras". This description of the pavitra at once

¹ See *Vedic Index* under this and *Pramaganda*.

differentiates it from that of the *Rigveda*, which, according to the *Vedic Index*, was a sieve made of sheep's wool. In his translation of *Śatap. Brāh.* i. 1. 3, Professor Eggeling calls the above "strainers", "purifiers", and "clarifiers". In the original of para. 3 we read ताभ्यामेताः प्रोक्षणीरुत्पूय ताभिः प्रोक्षति, which the Professor renders "having then strained the sprinkling water with those two (strainers), he sprinkles with it", and adds in a footnote, "He pours water into the Agnihotra ladle (in which some of the awn of the rice remains), and after cleaning it with the two strainers he sprinkles with it." Dr. Gangānātha Jhā¹ defines the *pavitra* as "a blade of kuśa cut into two equal pieces, and consecrated with a mantra; used for sprinkling water". The use of the word उत्पूय, however, in the *Brāhmaṇa*, and of उत्पुनाति in *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, 2. 3. 33 (हविर्गृह्णामपः कृत्वा ताभ्यां [पवित्राभ्यां] उत्पुनाति), makes it clear that the *pavitrās* were not mere sprinklers of water, the idea of *purifying* being inseparable from the word.

11. पृष्ठाकोट ॥ Śabara probably coined this word, which is said to mean "twisting of the back" in turning from side to side in order to examine and explain various objects to a pupil. It occurs under sūtra 2. 1. 32, and is explained by Kumārila thus: धरणिगतानेकद्रव्यप्रत्येकनिरीक्षणे पुनः पुनः पृष्ठं कुटिलीक्रियत इति तत्सामान्येन पृष्ठाकोटाभिधानम्.

12. प्रति प्रधानं गुण आवर्तनीयः² ॥ This maxim is found twice in the bhāṣya; under sūtra 3. 3. 14 in the words उपस्थेयभेदात्प्रति प्रधानमावर्तन्ते गुणाः, and under 3. 8. 12 in the sentence प्रधानसन्निधौ हि गुणः शिष्यमाणः प्रति प्रधानमुपदिष्टो भवति.

13. प्रतिसमानी ॥ The abridged St. Petersburg lexicon alone shows the root नी with these three upasargas, and quotes *Āpast. Śrauta*, vii, 14. 8, as an example. Śabara

¹ *Prābhākar Mīmāṃsā*, p. 269.

² See *Third Handful of Popular Maxims* (2nd ed., 1911).

(5. 1. 7) gives us two more, perhaps from some Kalpasūtra :
तथा “चतुर्थोत्तमयोः प्रतिसमानयति” इत्युक्ते सति “अतिहायेडो
बर्हिः प्रतिसमानयति” इत्युच्यते.

14 प्रत्याम्ना ॥ As used by Jaimini in sūtra 6. 4. 30
(स प्रत्यामनेत् स्थानात्) this verb clearly means “to take
the place of”, “to be substituted for”, something else,
a sense not found in our dictionaries. In expounding the
sūtra Śabara employs the noun प्रत्याम्नाय as the equivalent
of प्रतिनिधि, a meaning assigned to it in the *Vācaspatyam*.
This is confirmed by the *Jaiminisūtravritti* as follows :
अयं यागो दर्शप्रतिनिधिरूप उत तदङ्गमिति संशये पूर्वपक्षमाह स
इति । स पञ्चशरावयागः प्रत्यामनेत् प्रतिनिधिः तत्स्थानात्. If
I, who am not a Vedic scholar, may presume to differ
from one so learned as Dr. Garbe, I would suggest that
“substitute”, and not “corollary”, is the meaning of
प्रत्याम्नाय throughout the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*.

15. प्राक्रमिक ॥ As the only recorded example of this
very significant word is from some unspecified commentary
on Gautama's *Dharmaśāstra*, I offer one from Śabara.
Under sūtra 4. 3. 24 it is argued that a man ought to
finish any sacrificial act which he has commenced, even
though he has ceased to desire the advantage to be derived
from it. But why ? शिष्टाविगर्हणाय उपक्रम्यापरिसमापयतः ।
तदनन्तरमेवैनं शिष्टा विगर्हयेयुः प्राक्रमिको ऽयं कापुरुष इति
वदन्तः ॥

16. बाणवन्तः परिधयः ॥ This expression, found near the
end of the bhāṣya on 2. 1. 12, has puzzled me exceedingly.
The *paridhis*, as Dr. Jhā¹ tells us, are three logs of wood
placed on the north, west, and south sides of the altar; and
Professor Eggeling calls them “enclosing-sticks”. Six
kinds of wood are named by Kātyāyana (ii, 8. 1), of which
the *paridhis* may be made, but Bāṇa is not one of them.
In *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 3. 8. 2, we have the word
बाणवन्तौ as an epithet of शरौ (understood), and Śankara

¹ *Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā*, p. 257.

explains बाण as a piece of bamboo affixed to the point of an arrow. This meaning may be conjectural, but in any case it would be unsuitable here. Can any one enlighten us?

17. भूतं भव्यायोपदिश्यते ॥ This saying (explained in my *Maxims*) is found under sūtras 2. 1. 4; 3. 4. 40; 4. 1. 18; 4. 2. 10; 6. 1. 1. It probably originated with Śabara.

18. भ्रष्टावसरन्याय ॥ This, too, is found in the bhāṣya on 3. 5. 46 in the following words : भ्रष्टे चावसरे ऽनुष्ठीयमानो यजमानस्य विगुणः स्यात् । न च विगुणः कथंचिदर्थं साधयेत्. This reminds us of a passage in *Mahābhāṣya* 1. 2. 64 (vārt. 43) which I have quoted under the nyāya अकाले कृतमकृतं स्यात् in the second edition of part iii of the *Maxims*.

19. मायु ॥ Śabara (6. 8. 28) quotes TS. 3. 1. 4. 3, viz. यत्पशुर्मायुमकृतोरो वा पद्भिराहते अग्निर्मा तस्मादेनसो विश्वान्मोचयत्वंहसः ॥ In the *Rigveda*, according to the *Vedic Index*, “*Māyu* denotes the ‘lowing’ of a cow and the ‘bleating’ of a sheep or goat,” but here it means a cry of pain proceeding from an animal that is being killed at a sacrifice, and which necessitates the संज्ञप्तहोम. Here is Sāyana’s comment on the passage. After quoting *Āpast. Śrautasūtra*, vii. 17. 3, यत्पशुर्मायुमकृतेति संज्ञप्ते संज्ञप्तहोमं जुहोति, he says: अयं पशुर्मरणवेलायां मायुं दुःखहेतुकशब्दमकुरुताथवा यतस्ततश्चाख्यमानैः पादैरुस्ताडयति तत्र यदेनो निष्पन्नं तस्मादेनसो ऽग्निर्मा मोचयतु ।

Although the *Śrautasūtra* quoted above seems to state that the संज्ञप्तहोम is to be offered if the animal raises a cry of pain, etc., yet the commentator declares that the offering is not made on that account, but simply on account of the killing! Here are his words : संज्ञप्तिमात्रनिमित्तो होमो न तु मान्त्रवर्णिकमायुकरणादिनिमित्तस्तेन नित्य इति ज्ञापयितुमुक्तं संज्ञप्ते संज्ञप्तहोममिति.

20. यावद्वचनं वाचनिकम् ॥ This nyāya is found four times in the bhāṣya, namely in 3. 5. 44; 5. 3. 12; 5. 4. 11

and 18. The meaning seems to be, "It expresses just what is stated, and nothing more." For other examples see the second edition of part ii of the *Maxims*.

21. वक्तारो भवन्ति ॥ Many of our readers will doubtless recall with pleasure Dr. Kielhorn's very interesting exposition¹ of this "somewhat peculiar phrase" which is found four times in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It has been variously interpreted, but is really the equivalent of वदन्ति "they say". I think, however, that it seems, in some cases, to imply a feeling of contempt for the persons in question as being mere *chatterers* whose opinion was of little value. A point of great interest brought out by Dr. Kielhorn is the fact that the same phrase is found in one of the Jātakas as *vattāro honti*, a form of expression which, as we are told in a footnote, is of frequent occurrence in some Pāli works. Dr. Kielhorn's comments on this coincidence deserve attention. Śabara, no doubt, took it from Patanjali, and we find it as वक्तारो भवन्ति under sūtras 3. 1. 2 and 4. 2. 8; and as भवन्ति वक्तारः under sūtras 1. 4. 10 and 11. Śabara was a keen grammarian, and a firm believer in the accuracy of Pāṇini. Under sūtra 10. 8. 4 there is an interesting passage in which he gives his opinion as to the relative credibility of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, which is quoted by Vācaspati Miśra in *Bhāmatī*, 3. 3. 26.

22. शाक्यानामयनम् ॥ So Śabara under sūtra 3. 8. 42; and the same is found in the Benares edition of *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, xxiv, 176, where the commentary says: शाक्यानामयनमिति संज्ञा सत्रस्य । . . . तत्र तरसमयाः पुरोडाशव भवन्ति. But in *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, xxv, 7. 1, it is called शाक्त्यानां सत्रम्, and in the next sūtra it is stated that the Śāktya Gaurivīti, who offered a puroḍāśa of meat, attained universal prosperity by means of that sacrificial session at the River Yavyāvatī. The *Āpast. Śrauta*, too, has the

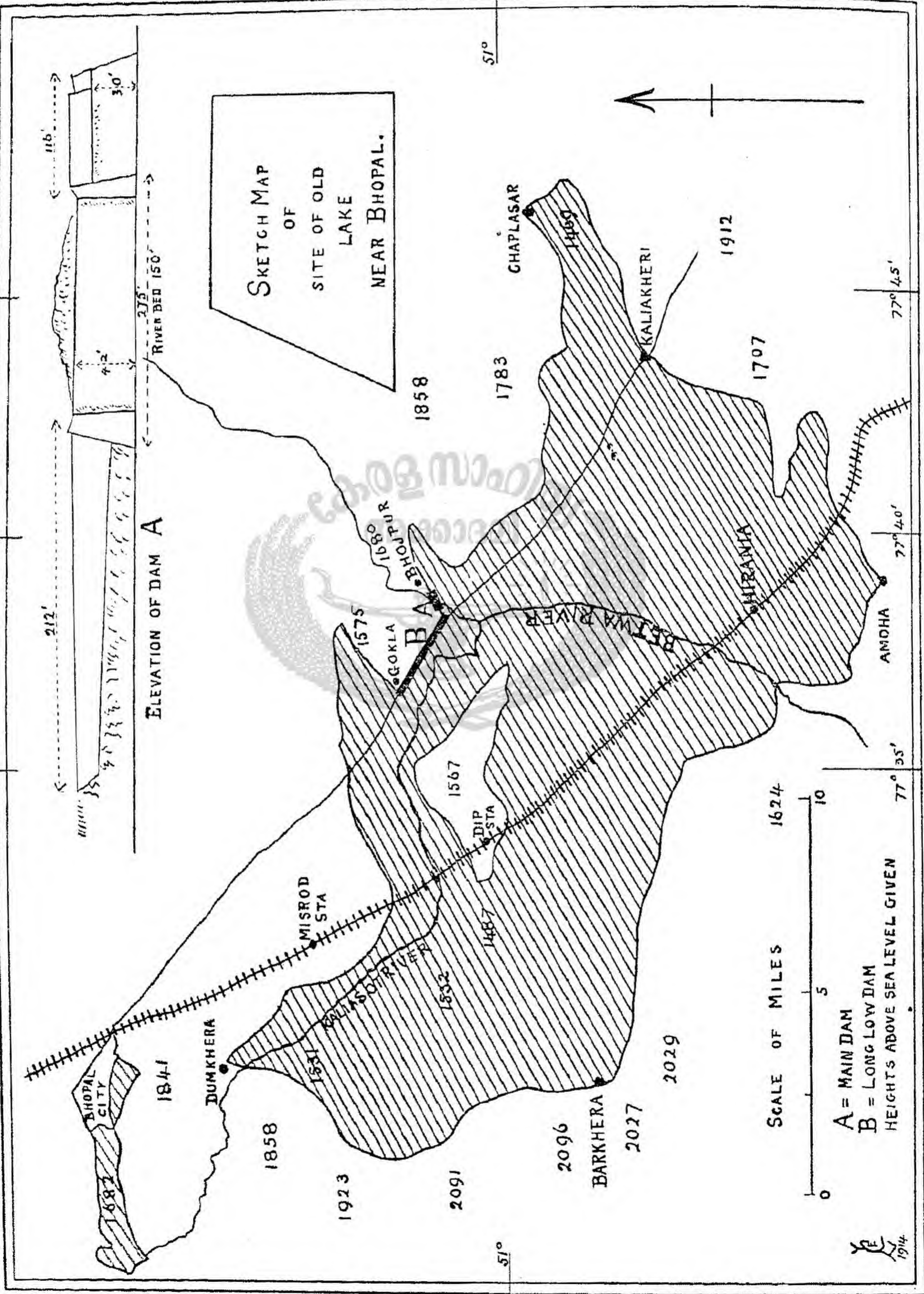
¹ In JRAS. 1898, p. 19.

reading शाक्त्यानां, and it is from sūtras 23. 11. 12 and 13 that Śabara quotes the passage संस्थिते संस्थितेऽहनि, which tells how the meat for the sacrificial cakes was obtained. These two sūtras, alas! are not quoted in Dr. Bloomfield's Concordance, and I spent a lot of time in hunting for them.

23. शुक्तिरजतन्याय ॥ This well-known simile, which illustrates the "apparent existence" of the Vedāntist, is employed in the following passage on sūtra 3. 8. 24: यस्य हि दर्शनस्य प्रमाणं नास्ति व्यामोहः स यथा शुक्तिकायां रजतविज्ञानम्.

24. There is a curious passage in the opening part of the sixth book where a discussion is raised as to the application of the injunction स्वर्गकामो यजेत. It cannot, it is said, apply to *trees*, for being inanimate they have no desires of any kind; but it may, perchance, apply to *animals*, for that they desire things is proved by their seeking a shady spot when overcome by heat, or a warm one when oppressed by cold. If it is objected that all their desires relate to present enjoyment and not to anything in the future, the objection is proved to be groundless by the fact that *dogs are seen to fast on the fourteenth day of the month, and hawks on the eighth*, with a view to some advantage in the future! This primâ facie view is gravely refuted on the ground that without a knowledge of the Veda none are led to engage in fasting in order to obtain some advantage in the distant future, and of course animals have not that knowledge!

25. In connexion with the Vājapeya sacrifice we find in Āpast. Śrauta, xviii, 2. 11, the sūtra हिरण्यमालिन ऋत्विजः सुत्येऽहनि प्रचरन्ति, which is quoted by Śabara under sūtra 3. 4. 13 and 3. 8. 12. As the sūtra is not included in the *Vedic Concordance*, the above reference to it may be a help to some quotation-hunter.



IX

GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA

BY MAJOR C. ECKFORD LUARD

THE GREAT DAM AND TEMPLE AT BHOJPUR IN BHOPAL STATE

THE temple and dam which form the subject of this paper have already been dealt with in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ and in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,² the former paper, written by Colonel Kincaid, being the most complete.

The little village of Bhojpur is situated in the Bhopāl State of the Central India Agency in longitude 23° 6' N. and latitude 77° 38' E., 5 miles north-east of Dīp station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. From this station it is reached by a country track leading at first over rocky hills and finally over deep alluvium, which marks the area of the old lake described further on.

Dīp was, as its name still shows, once an "island" in the lake. The present village lies at the base of a rock-strewn hill on the summit of which signs of a much older settlement may still be traced. From the top of this hill a fine view of the whole of the area occupied by the old lake can be had.

The village of Bhojpur is traditionally supposed to have been founded by Rājā Bhoja I of Dhār (1010-55). He is, moreover, credited with having erected a large town here. This an examination of the site shows to be a mere fable, as there are no traces whatever of a settlement of any size, while the unfinished condition of the temples proves that whatever the intentions of the founder may have been, he was unable to carry out his design. In

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 348.

² JASB., viii, 805; xvi, 739.

Mughal days, moreover, when places of importance under the Hindus usually became the head-quarters of Sarkārs or Mahals, this place was of no importance apparently. A Bhojpur is mentioned in the '*Ain-i-Akbari*'¹ as the head-quarters of a mahal in Sarkār Raisen, but it is a different place of the same name. It may be remarked also that no traces of Muhammadan occupation exist here, such as are invariably met with in any place used as an official centre, while its remoteness would militate against its being a place of importance.

The great temple stands just above the village of Bhojpur, a little to the south-east of the shorter of the two dams to be described later, at an elevation slightly higher than the maximum water-level, as controlled by the waste weir.

The shrine is Shaivite and is incomplete, all that stands being the garbha-grha containing the Liṅga, of which the doorway faces west over the site of the great lake. A wall of rubble and mud now extends in front of the shrine, forming a long narrow courtyard, enclosing some small huts used by the local Mahant and his chelas. The sanctum is in plan a simple square of 66 feet, quite plain in design, and without any of the salient and re-entrant angles usual in northern temples. It is raised upon a plinth 7 feet high, divided into two sections by a simple string-course. The doorway is of unusual height, partly covered with carving of the bell and chain pattern and other designs. It was evidently to have been decorated profusely with carving below also, the empty socket-holes for pieces of sculpture being still visible.

Within four massive pillars support the foundations of a magnificent dome, which unfortunately was never completed. That its present condition is not due to injury but to incompleteness is clear from the existence against the north wall of the earthen ramp by which the

¹ Jarrett & Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 199.

blocks of stone were raised to the necessary level to enable them to be placed in position as well as by the numerous shaped blocks lying round the building.

The four pillars, massive as they are, have been saved from any appearance of heaviness by clever construction. Each pillar is built up in three sections; the lowest is an octagon with facets of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, surmounted by another octagon with facets of $2\frac{1}{8}$ feet, from which a twenty-four-faced section rises.

The Linga within is also of unusually massive proportions. It has a total height of 20 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. including the base, the emblem itself being $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference. It stands on a massive platform consisting of three sandstone blocks placed one upon another, and is 20 ft. 10 in. square at its foundation. Here, as in the case of the pillars, skilful construction has prevented any appearance of excessive massiveness. The parts are carefully graduated, while the rounding off of the corners adds to its gracefulness. A flight of steps leading up to it is certainly a later addition.

The temple is supposed to date from the twelfth century. This seems probable, and though legend associates both Bhoja and Udayāditya (1059–81) with its erection, a later date would appear more likely.

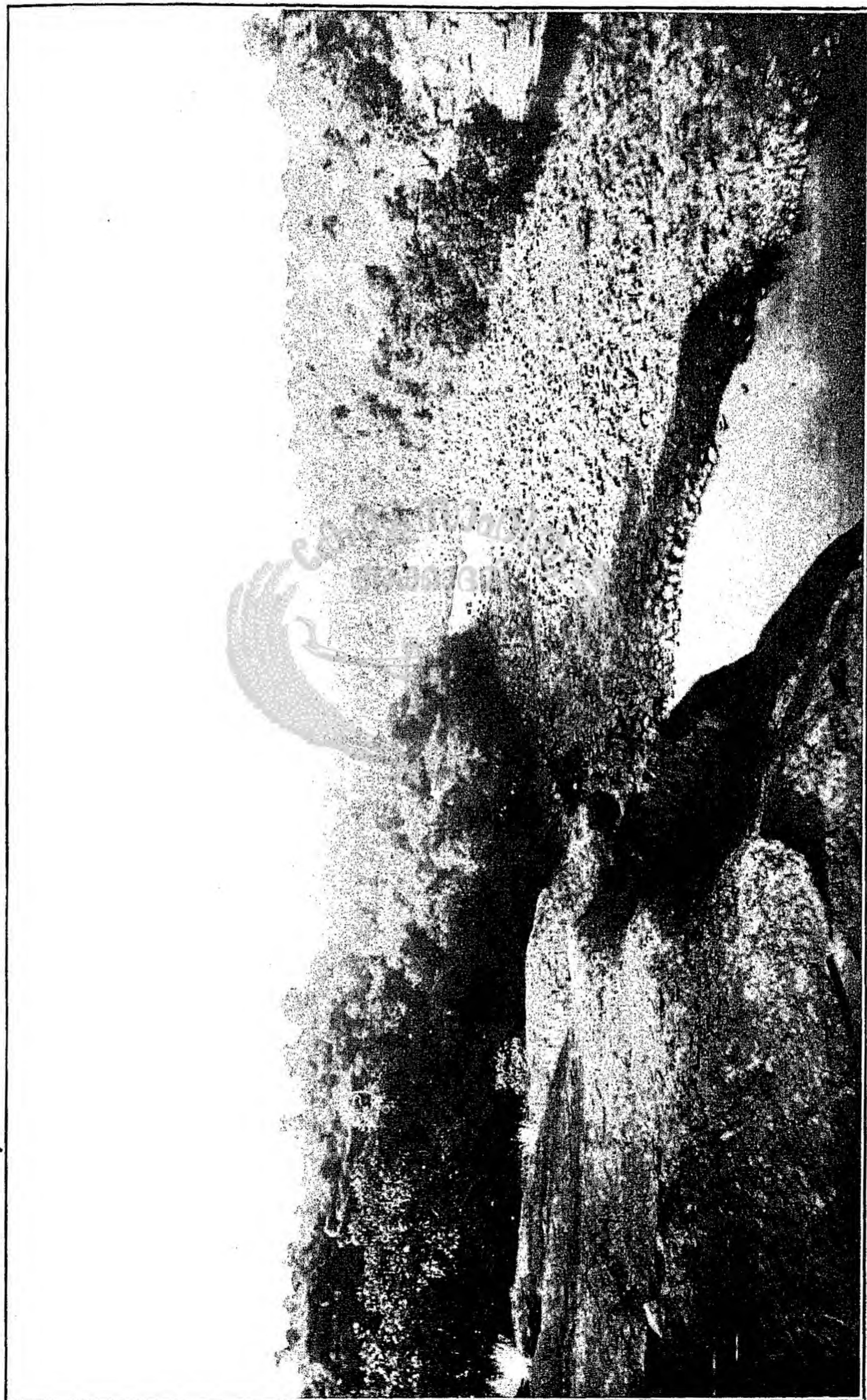
To the east of this temple, higher up the hill, stands a Jain shrine. It is rectangular in plan with sides of 14 and 11 feet. The roof is formed of large stone slabs. The floor is 3 feet below the base of the door. It contains a large figure of Mahāvira, 18 feet high, flanked by two statues of Pārasnāth under the usual snake-hood canopies each 7 feet high. All these figures are naked, showing that they belong to the Dīgambara sect. This building is clearly nothing more than the garbha-grha of a temple of which the rest was never completed. This is shown by the plinth and also the existence of an earthen ramp similar to that at the great temple. To the north

of this temple is a small shrine formed of nine pillars of simple design, which contains a large headless figure of a female deity and a small image of Pārasnāth. Just outside lie two more figures, one of Pārasnāth and the other of Mahāvira, both belonging to the Dīgambara sect. Nowhere are there any inscriptions, a few names scratched on walls and a short salutation to "the son of Mahādev", all in modern characters, being the only records in any of these buildings.

Traces of other small temples are to be found scattered in the bushes and along the rocks leading from the great temple to the short dam. The figure of a goddess, another of a bearded Ṛshi, and some small images lie near the remains of one small ruined shrine. A large number of samādhi stones are collected at one spot, and a Yonī with fifteen rows of footprints before it, each row containing sixteen footprints, or 240 in all.

Some very interesting designs have been cut on the surface of the rock near these footprints. These are apparently working plans to scale of designs to be used in the great temple.

To turn to the dams. Two dams lie west of the village. From the map it will be seen how skilfully the position of the lake was chosen. The scheme was to form a vast sheet of water by utilizing the streams of the Betwā and Kāliasot Rivers. To effect this the waters of the Kāliasot had to be diverted so as to unite with those of the Betwā. Three dams were required to carry this out. The first was that near Bhopāl, which still divides the upper and lower lakes. It is known as the dam of the old fort, the "Qila kohna band". This dam deflected the stream southwards. On its course, however, it would have escaped through the gap lying west of Goklākhedī village, the only gap in the natural wall of hills which surrounded the area chosen. Here the longer but lower of the two dams was raised. It is 3,250 feet long, and



Remains of dam at Rhoinur

200 feet wide at its broadest part, its average height being 24 feet. It now carries a country road leading to Bhopāl city. The dam is formed of rubble and earth in the centre with a facing of sandstone blocks, set square like bricks. The stream of the Kāliasot no longer flows against it, the accumulated silt having driven it into a new course often lying as much as 400 yards away.

The third dam, now in a ruined state, is by far the more interesting of the two. Having to withstand the full flood of the two rivers it was constructed with great care. The western end was carried 200 feet back into the rock of the bank, being brought out in a curve and protected with two revetments on the lake side. On the side opposite to this the dam wall has been taken 500 feet into the rock so as to obviate the danger of its being cut through or round by small streams. It is not, however, so strongly made at this point, as the pressure it was called on to bear was lessened by the way the rock rises from the lake side to meet the dam wall.

This dam was 42 feet high at the banks and 50 feet high in the centre when intact, its base covering about 275 feet, the actual width of the gap filled by it being 120 feet. The greatest care was taken to ensure its strength in the centre, as the remains on the western bank show. Here, where the top is uncovered, it is possible to see the nature of the structure. The dam was divided internally into rectangular compartments by vertical walls of sandstone. These compartments were then filled with stone and rubble well rammed down, a method pursued, no doubt, throughout the structure.

The facing of this dam was perhaps its most interesting feature. Great blocks of sandstone averaging 4 feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick were employed. On the lake side, where the water pressure was considerable, they were set in at an angle of 65 degrees. Throughout the dam no cement was used anywhere.

Eastwards of this dam lay the waste weir by which the level of the lake was controlled. This was formed by cutting down into the neck of a col lying between two small hills. The waste weir channel lies 40 feet above the base of the dam.

The Betwā and Kāliasot now flow through the gap and wend their way down a picturesque valley, with lofty wooded banks, which is strewn for over a quarter of a mile from the dam with great blocks of sandstone, once the retaining wall of this barrier (see Fig.).

The area of water held up by these dams exceeded 250 square miles (see Map). It stretched from Dumkheda, near Bhopāl city to Amohā in the south, and from Chaplāsar in the east to Barkhedī in the west, the maximum length and breadth being respectively 22 and 15 miles.

From the Pāṇḍava hero Bhīm to Rāma and Rājā Bhoja of Dhār, various persons have been credited with the erection of the dams, but there seems little doubt that they were the work of either Rājā Bhoja or one of the Paramāra line, to which he belonged, a line that ruled over Mālhwā from the ninth to the fourteenth century, reaching the zenith of their power in the eleventh and twelfth. The assignment of these dams, therefore, to the eleventh or twelfth century must come very near the truth.

The builders, whoever they were, had considerable knowledge and skill, as the selection of the site and the boldness of the design amply testify.

Tradition records with greater certainty that the ruined dam was cut through by Sultān Hoshang Shāh of Mālhwā, who ruled from 1405 to 1435 A.D., 200 years or more after its erection. Whether this was done in a fit of destructiveness or with the deliberate intention of securing a large fertile addition to his possessions, it is impossible to say, but considering the troubled times he

lived in it seems most likely that he came across the dam in some march from his new city of Hoshangābād, which lies not far distant, and destroyed this monument of a former Hindu ruler out of mere wantonness. It is also possible that tradition is at fault and natural causes destroyed it. But tradition has more to say, adding that Hoshang Shāh employed a large army three months in making a breach, and that it was thirty years before the heavy alluvium left by the waters of the lake became sufficiently dry to be habitable, so that the Sultān himself benefited little, though he conferred a great boon on his successors.

Many tales have been woven round the memory of this great spread of water. Rājā Bhoja and his Rānī are said to have sailed on hot weather evenings from Bhojpur across to Bhimbait at the southern end of the lake, where some curiously shaped rocks are called after the Pāṇḍava hero to this day. Another tale narrates that Bhoja, afflicted with leprosy, was told that he could be cured only by washing in the biggest lake in all India, and that the lake must be fed by one stream for each day in the year. For a long time only 364 were forthcoming, till a Gond, Kallia by name, discovered the stream called after him, the Kāliasot. The lake was made and the king was cured. Numerous small shrines, simply formed of large slabs of sandstone, are still pointed out as "Rājā Bhoja's boathouses".

It would be interesting to speculate on the effect which this huge sheet of water, sending its moisture-laden breezes over the plateau, had on the climate of Mālhwā. Forest still covers the hills and valleys round Bhojpur, but in the days of the lake it must have been far more luxuriant, and possibly the traditional fertility and exemption from famine which is always attributed to this still favoured tract owed its existence largely to this great expanse of water.

The lake is no more and the glories of the place are dimmed, but the ruins of the titanic dam remain, and the fame of the mighty sheet of water, which once lapped the rocks at the foot of the great temple and on which Rāja Bhoja and his queen loved to sail after the heat of a summer's day, still lives in Northern India in a series of verses recording the greatest vanished marvels of the land.

Tāl to Bhopāl tāl
 Aur sab talāya
 Rānī Kamalāpatī
 Aur sab raṇāya
 Rājā to Rāmchandra
 Aur sab Rājāya
 (and so on).



X

THE VAKATAKA DYNASTY OF BERAR IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES A.C.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.S.R.**—*Archæological Survey of India, Reports*, written or edited by Sir A. Cunningham, 1871–87.
- A.S.W.I.**—*Archæological Survey of Western India*, Trübner, v.d., by Dr. James Burgess, C.I.E.
- Collins.**—"The Geographical Data of the *Raghuvamśa* and *Daśakumāracarita*," being an inaugural dissertation for the Ph.D. degree at Leipzig. Printed at Leipzig by G. Kreysing, 1907. The author, Dr. Mark Collins, is now Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dublin.
- Ep. Ind.**—*Epigraphia Indica*.
- F.GI.**—*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1888, by Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E.
- H.F.A.**—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911.
- I.G.**—*Imperial Gazetteer*, Oxford, 1907–9.
- Ind. Ant.**—*The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
- K.INI.**—"A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, from about A.D. 400," by Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E., Göttingen (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. v, 1878–9).

THE Vākāṭaka Dynasty, of which the very name and existence had been utterly forgotten for many centuries, was brought to the knowledge of students of ancient Indian history by the publication in 1836 of

a copper-plate grant from the Central Provinces. Since that date a few more inscriptions on stone or copper have been discovered at various times and places, and the little known about the dynasty is derived solely from those records. No extant coin can be assigned to the Vākāṭaka princes, who must have used as currency the monetary issues of other powers. We are ignorant of the derivation of the name Vākāṭaka, and are unable to say whether the kings were indigenous or of foreign descent. Nor do we know for certain the locality in which the dynasty took its rise. It is not mentioned in literature, although it seems to be the subject of an obscure allusion in the Purāṇas, which contain in the section dealing with the dynasties of Vidiśā, etc., the passage translated by Mr. Pargiter from his eclectic text, as follows :—

“Hear also the future kings of Vidiśā. Bhogin, son of the Nāga king Seṣa, will be king, conqueror of his enemies’ cities, a king who will exalt the Nāga family. Saducandra, and Candrāmśa *who will be* a second Nakhavant, then Dhanadharman, and Vaṅgara is remembered as the fourth. Then Bhūtinanda will reign in the Vaidiśa *kingdom*.

“When the family of the Śungas ends, Śiśunandi will reign. His younger brother was named Nandiyaśas. In his lineage there will be 3 kings. *His* daughter’s son named Śiśuka was king in Purikā.

“Vindhyaśakti’s valiant son, named Pravīra, will enjoy the city Kāñchanakā 60 years, and will sacrifice with vājapeya sacrifices replete with choice largesse. His 4 sons will be kings.”¹

The passage is concerned with the territories now known collectively as Central India, Vidiśā being Bhīlsā on the Betwā River in the Gwālior State, so that a reference to the Vākāṭakas would be in place. The uncommon name Vindhyaśakti is the first in the Vākāṭaka

¹ *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 72.

genealogy, and the Pravīra of the text may well be a variant of Pravarasena, the second name and the first Mahārāja in the Vākāṭaka list, who, according to the Chammak inscription, celebrated the *vājapeya* sacrifice, as well as four *aśvamedhas* and other sacrificial rites. The special reference in the Purāṇas to Pravīra's performance of the *vājapeya* rite makes it highly probable that Pravīra is merely a variant of the epigraphic Pravara. Moreover, the inscriptions connect the Vākāṭakas with Nāga princes, such as are mentioned in the beginning of the Purāṇic passage.

Notwithstanding the admitted obscurity of the dynasty and the imperfection of its record, the fragmentary story of the Vākāṭaka kings is not devoid of interest and importance. Their chronology, which Bühler long ago had outlined with substantial accuracy, had been obscured by an unlucky hypothesis, the acceptance of which concealed the intimate relation between the Vākāṭakas and the great imperial Guptas, while at the same time it confused the history of Indian art. A recent discovery, published by a competent scholar in substance although without details, has proved that Bühler's view was sound, and has established beyond dispute the substantial correctness of his chronology. The Vākāṭaka kings are thus brought into direct relation with the Imperial Gupta dynasty, as well as with high-class architecture and sculpture of the early Gupta period, and with some of the best pictorial art in the western caves. These consequences of the recent discovery make it worth while to review the whole of the existing evidence for the history of the Vākāṭakas, and to work out the dynastic chronology.

Following my usual method I begin with the exhibition of the epigraphic testimony in a convenient tabular form.¹

¹ Obsolete editions are not cited.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF

SERIAL NO.	NO. IN KIELHORN'S LIST.	LOCALITY.	STONE OR COPPER- PLATE.	VĀKĀṬAKA KING.	DATE.		
					Regnal.	Indian era.	C. A. D.
I	618	Nāchnā, the ancient Kuthāra (24° 25' N., 80° 28' E.), in the Ajaygarh State of Bundelkhand, in the Central India Agency (erroneously placed in the Jasō State by F.G.I.).	S.	Mahārāja Prithivīshena	—	—	—
II	618	As No. I.	S.	Mahārāja Prithivīshena and his subordinate Vyāghradeva.	—	—	—
III	619	Chammak village, 4 miles S. W. of Ilichpur (Ellichpur, Ellichpur), (21° 16' N., 77° 33' E.), now in the Amraotī District of the Berār Division attached to the Central Provinces.	C.-p.	Mahārāja Pravarasena (II)	18th	—	—
IV	620	Somewhere in the Siwanī (Seuni, Seoni) Tahsīl of the District of that name in the Jabalpur (Jubbulpore) Division of the Central Provinces. Seoni town is in 22° 5' N., 79° 33' E.	C.-p.	Mahārāja Pravarasena (II)	18th	—	—
V	621	"Dudia in the Aser pargana" of the Chhindwāra District, Nerbudda Division, Central Provinces. I cannot find the Aser pargana or "Dudia". Chhindwāra town is in 22° 4' N., 78° 57' E.	C.-p.	Mahārāja Pravarasena (II)	23rd	—	—
VI	622	Ajantā (village lies in 20° 32' N., 75° 46' E.), Cave No. xvi, on left end wall outside the verandah.	S.	Harishena.	—	—	—
VII	624	Ajantā, Cave No. xvii.	S.	Harishena, presumably the Vākāṭaka.	—	—	—
VIII	623	Gulwārā, 11 miles W. of Ajantā, in the Ghatotkacha cave.	S.	Devasena.	—	—	—
IX	—	Not stated.	C.-p.	Rudrasena (II).	—	—	—

THE VĀKĀṬAKA DYNASTY

PURPORT.	REFERENCES AND REMARKS.
Merely the king's name inscribed on the edge of a slab, followed by a doubtful word, perhaps Vyāghra.	F.G.I., No. 53, p. 233, pl. xxxiii A; A.S.R., vol. xxi, p. 98, pl. xxvii. The record seems to be merely a rough draft of part of the inscription No. II on the face of the same slab.
Records that something, not specified, was done or made by Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Mahārāja Prithivīshena, for the benefit of Vyāghradeva's parents. The slab must have been inserted in a building of some kind.	F.G.I., No. 54, p. 233, pl. xxxiii B; A.S.R., <i>ut supra</i> . The slab is associated with temples and good sculpture in the Gupta style of the fourth century. See I.G. (1908), s.v. Ajaigarh State; and Collins, p. 34.
Grant of the village Charmāṅka (Chammak), situated in the Bhojakata kingdom, to 1,000 Brahmans. Issued from Pravarapura. Gives the donor's genealogy back to the first Mahārāja, Pravarasena (I). Recites the marriage of Rudrasena (II), the donor's father, to Prabhāvatī-guptā, daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Devagupta.	F.G.I., No. 55, p. 235, pl. xxxiv; A.S.W.I., iv, p. 116; <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , xii, 216. For discussion of the Bhojakata kingdom, see Collins, p. 28.
Grant of a village in the Bennākārpara bhāga to a Brahman. Place of issue not stated. Genealogy exactly as in No. III.	F.G.I., No. 56, p. 243, pl. xxxv; Collins, pp. 28, 37.
Two grants, namely, one of land in Darbhamalaka, in Chandrapura-saṅgamika, in Ārammi rājya; and the other of land in Karmakāra village, in the Hiranyapura bhoga. These localities have not been identified. Issued from Pravarapura. Genealogy exactly as in Nos. III, IV.	Ed. with facs. by Kielhorn, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , vol. iii (1894-5), p. 258. See Collins, p. 29, n.
Gift of the cave to a community of Buddhist monks by Varāhadeva, son of Hastibhoja, who had been minister of Devasena Vākāṭaka. Varāhadeva presumably was minister of Harishena, but the record is imperfect. Much mutilated. Dedication of a cave and <i>chaitya</i> by a Rāja apparently subordinate to the Vākāṭakas. The Rāja's genealogy is recited.	Bühler finally ed. and transl. in A.S.W.I., iv, p. 124, pl. lvii. See also <i>ibid.</i> , p. 53.
Genealogy of Devasena's minister, Hastibhoja, who dedicated the cave apparently. Much mutilated.	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 129, pl. lvi.
Grant of land, details not stated, issued by Queen Prabhāvatī, widow of Rudrasena II, during minority of her son the Yuvarāja, Divakārasena. Incidentally gives the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas. Prabhāvatī was daughter of Chandragupta II and Kuberaṅgā.	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 64, 138, pl. lx.
	Not yet ed. or transl. Known only from an abstract notice by Professor K. B. Pāthak in <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , 1912, p. 215.

The genealogical information afforded by the inscriptions also may be conveniently exhibited in a tabular form.

VĀKĀṬAKA GENEALOGY

INSCRIPTIONS NOS. 619-20 (CHAMMAK, SIWANĪ, AND DUDIA)	INSCRIPTION No. 622 (AJAṆṬĀ)	PĀTHAK C.-p.
	Vindhyaśakti	
Mahārāja Pravarasena [I]	Pravarasena [I]	
| Gautamīputra, m. dau. of Mahārāja Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśivas	|	
Mahārāja Rudrasena [I]	Rudrasena [I]	
Mahārāja Prithivīshena	Prithivīshena (conquered the lord of Kuntala)	
Mahārāja Rudrasena [II], m. Prabhāvatiguptā, dau. of Mahārāja- dhirāja Deva- gupta		Rudrasena [II], m. Śrī Prabhāvatī, dau. of Mahā- rājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta [II] and Kubera- nāgā
Mahārāja Pravarasena [II]	Pravarasena [II] unnamed son, acc. at 8 years of age	Yuvarāja Śrī Divākarasena
	Devasena	
	Harishena	
	(conquered Kun- tala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikuṭa, Lāṭa, Andhra)	

The three genealogical statements, it will be observed, present considerable discrepancies as well as much agreement.

The first name, that of Vindhyaśakti, is known from the Ajaṇṭā record only, in which he is described as a famous and valiant "twice-born" man, who became the banner of the Vākāṭaka race, and vanquished his enemies. No royal title is given to him and in all probability he

was not a ruling sovereign, although, as already observed, he may be the person of the same name mentioned in the Purāṇas. The name is uncommon. It is impossible to determine the region in which he lived and founded the fortunes of his family, nor is anything known about his race or lineage.

Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, was the first to bear the title of Mahārāja, but there is nothing to show definitely the situation or extent of his principality. He is given the additional title of *samrāj*, or "universal king", which implies the exercise of or at least the claim to considerable power, and he is credited with having performed a multitude of *śrauta* sacrifices, including four *aśvamedhas*, or horse-sacrifices, which could be celebrated only by a prince who had subdued his neighbours. It seems to be probable that he is commemorated in the Purāṇas under the slightly variant name Pravīra, but the scanty data do not permit the reconstruction of his history.

Gautamīputra, his son, married the daughter of a distinguished prince named Bhavanāga, Mahārāja of the Bhāraśivas. The language of the inscriptions was interpreted by Bühler as implying that the seat of the Bhāraśivas "lay to the north of the Vākāṭakas, on the Ganges (Bhāgirathī)". So far as I know, the Bhāraśivas are not mentioned elsewhere, nor is there any other notice of a sovereign named Bhavanāga. His name seems to mean that he belonged to one of the Nāga races whom Samudragupta conquered. The head-quarters of the Nāga chiefs in Samudragupta's time were at Padmāvatī or Narwar in the Gwālīor territory, and it is possible that Bhavanāga may have ruled somewhere in that region. Bühler's guess that the Bhāraśivas might possibly be the same as "the Bhār Rājputs" was unfortunate. The name of the tribe or race which at one time was influential in Oudh and Bundelkhaṇḍ is Bhar, not Bhār. The modern

Bhars occupy the position of a lowly and impure Hindu caste, although they retain traditions of former greatness, and are obscurely connected with the Bais Rājput clan in Oudh. They are usually considered to be an "aboriginal" tribe, and in Bundelkhand were much mixed up with the Gonds. I was familiar with the caste during many years of my service in India, and have never known its members to be reckoned as Rājputs in modern times. At present I am not in a position to throw any light on the Bhārasīvas or their chief, Bhavanāga.

Gautamīputra, who married the daughter of Bhavanāga, evidently must have died before his father, and is omitted from the Ajaṇṭā genealogy. The second Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, according to all the lists, was Rudrasena I, who is known from the grants to have been the son of Gautamīputra.

Nothing is recorded about Rudrasena I, except that he was an ardent worshipper of Śiva under his form of Bhairava. It may be assumed that the reign of Pravara-sena I, who survived his son Gautamīputra, and was succeeded by his grandson, was long. The third reign being expressly stated to have been of unusual duration, a reasonable inference arises that the second, namely, that of Rudrasena I, must have been brief. Three long reigns never occur in unbroken succession.

Prithivīshena, the third Mahārāja, son of Rudrasena, also was a worshipper of Śiva. The grants say that "his treasures, means of government, and line increased during a hundred years, and that he had sons and grandsons". The correct explanation of that phrase, according to Bühler, seems to be that he ruled for a long time, and saw his sons and grandsons grow up. The expression "a hundred years" need not, of course, be taken literally. His reign may be regarded as extending over any period from about forty to sixty years. The Ajaṇṭā inscription credits him with having conquered the lord of Kuntala,

in the Deccan, whereas his only known contemporary record at Nāchnā is in the Ajaygarh State, to the south-west of Allahabad. The evidence, though scanty, is enough to prove that Prithivīsheṇa in the course of his exceptionally long reign had acquired a wide dominion.

His son, Rudrasena II, married Śrī Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Devagupta, or Chandragupta II, whose consort was Kuberanāgā. Bühler, who justly observed that the title given to Devagupta in the Vākāṭaka grants then known shows that he must have been a greater man than the Vākāṭaka king, wisely refrained from attempting to identify Devagupta. Dr. Fleet, more boldly, was of opinion that it could "hardly be doubted" that the Devagupta of the grants was the prince of that name who belonged to the Later Guptas of Magadha, and lived about A.D. 700. In order to justify that guess, based upon the identity of name, Dr. Fleet was obliged perhaps to make the supposition that several Vākāṭaka inscriptions recorded in different places at different times had been all written in an archaic, obsolete script. It is, however, unnecessary to labour an argument on the subject, because the discovery announced by Professor Pāthak settles the matter. The grant (ix of my list) published partially by him, which describes the bride of Rudrasena II as the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta (II) and his consort Kuberanāgā, permits of no hesitation in acknowledging that the Devagupta of the other grants was simply an alternative name for the great emperor of Northern India, who conquered Mālwā and Surāshṭra in the last decade of the fourth century. That conquest supplies a good reason for the matrimonial alliance, because the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarāt and Surāshṭra. Chandragupta adopted a prudent

precaution in giving his daughter to the Vākāṭaka prince, and so securing his subordinate alliance. Assuming the conquest to have been completed somewhere about A.D. 395, the marriage cannot be far removed from that year. We thus obtain a closely approximate date as the foundation for the chronology of the dynasty, and one fully accordant with the natural interpretation of the palæographical facts. It is worth notice that the consort of Chandragupta, the mother of Rudrasena's queen, had a Nāga name, as Rudrasena's father had. The emperor evidently found it to his advantage to use the influence of the old Nāga families, whose sovereign power had been broken by his father.¹

I cannot explain why the Ajaṇṭā genealogy should have omitted Rudrasena II, who had made such a distinguished alliance, but agree with Bühler in believing that the reign of Rudrasena probably was brief and unimportant. He may have been so overshadowed by his father-in-law's greatness that he was not considered to be an independent sovereign. Rudrasena, like his Gupta superior, was devoted to the cult of Viṣṇu.

His son, Pravarasena II, returned to the Śaiva faith, and, perhaps, may have been less dependent on the great northern empire than his father had been. The grants show that he reigned at least twenty-three years. The capital, Pravarapura, from which two of the documents were issued, may have been named either after him or after his ancestor Pravarasena I. There is nothing to show where the town was situated, and it is useless to guess.

The genealogy of the successors of Pravarasena II is detailed only in the Ajaṇṭā inscription, No. 622. That record, unfortunately, is so badly damaged, that it is difficult to decide whether Pravarasena II was succeeded

¹ For details and dates of the history of the Imperial Guptas, see *Early History of India*, in either the second or the third edition.

immediately by a prince whose name has been lost or by Devasena, who is known from the other cave inscriptions.

The fragments of the relevant passage were translated by Bühler as follows:—

Verse 8. “[The son] of [that] king [*Pri*]thivī[*shena*] . . . [*having conquered*] the lord of Kuntala, righteously ruled the earth.

„ 9. His excellent son was Pravarasena, who gained exalted rule . . .

„ 10. [*His*] son . . . [*was*] . . . who, having obtained the kingdom when 8 years of age, ruled well.

„ 11. His son was . . . king . . . on earth Devasena, through whose lovely enjoyments . . . of the king of gods . . .”

Verse 12 then proceeds to mention Hastibhoja, the minister of Devasena.

The fragments, as they stand, seem to mean that Pravarasena II had a son, whose name had been lost, and who ascended the throne at 8 years of age, becoming the father of Devasena. Bühler adopted that interpretation. But Kielhorn took no notice of the nameless son, and apparently thought that he might be identical with Devasena. It is impossible to be certain as to the meaning of the passage. If Devasena's father came to the throne at 8 years of age, he must be assigned a reign of considerable length to allow of his begetting Devasena, who must have succeeded while still very young.

The Ghatotkacha cave at Gulsārā, to the west of Ajaṇṭā, was dedicated either by Hastibhoja the minister of Devasena, or by a member of his family.

The name of Harishena which occurs in the badly mutilated inscription in Cave No. xvii at Ajaṇṭā presumably refers to the latest known Vākāṭaka Mahārāja.

Professor Pāthak's copper-plate shows that Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatī had a son named Divākarasena, who was the *yuvarāja* or Crown Prince. He may possibly have

succeeded under the title of Pravarasena II, but it is more likely that he died young, and that Pravarasena was his brother.

From the imperfect and rather unsatisfactory materials thus presented, we obtain the list of Mahārājas as follows :—

THE VĀKĀṬAKA MAHĀRĀJAS

	Acc. c. A.D.
I. Pravarasena I, son of Vindhyaśakti	300
II. Rudrasena I, grandson of No. I	330
III. Prithivīshena, son of No. II, had long reign	340
IV. Rudrasena II, son of No. III, married daughter of Chandragupta II	390
V. Pravarasena II, son of No. IV, known to have reigned twenty-three years	395
VI. — son of No. V, came to the throne at 8 years of age	420
VII. Devasena, son of No. VI	445
VIII. Harishena, son of No. VII, made extensive conquests	465
	to c. 500

Eight reigns cover approximately 200 years. The chronology agrees closely with that suggested by Bühler on palæographical grounds.

Although it is impossible to fix the duration of each reign, it is established that Prithivīshena enjoyed an exceptionally long reign, that Pravarasena II ruled for at least twenty-three years, and that Harishena effected extensive conquests, implying a prolonged exercise of power. On the assumption that Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya gave his daughter in marriage to Rudrasena II at about the time when the invasion of Mālwa took place, the dates assigned in the table cannot be far wrong, and we may feel confident that the eight Vākāṭaka Mahārājas should be placed between the limits A.D. 300 and 500. If Harishena had any successors they are not known, but it is possible and not unlikely that the dynasty may have survived until the establishment of the Chalukya power in the middle of the sixth century.

The materials at present available do not suffice for the determination of the place of origin of the dynasty or of the manner in which Pravarasena I attained power. Professor Collins observes that it can hardly be an accident that the dynastic lists of both the Śaka Satraps of Surāshtra and the Vākātakas exhibit a sovereign named Rudrasena followed by his son Prithivīsheṇa. The inference readily suggests itself that Rudrasena Vākāṭaka and his son Prithivīsheṇa (c. 330–90) must have been in some way connected with the Satraps of the same name who had reigned between A.D. 199 and 222. But such an inference obviously is inconclusive, and it may be unfounded.

If Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena are the same persons as the Vindhyaśakti and Pravīrasena of the Purāṇas, the origin of the family might be sought somewhere in the area now known as Central India. The earliest proved local connexion, however, is that of Prithivīsheṇa with the territory in Bundelkhand now known as the Ajaygarh State, which lies to the south-west of Allahabad. All the other inscriptions come from places much farther to the south. The Chammak grant (K.INI., No. 619) establishes definitely the fact that Pravarasena II (c. 395–420) held the province of Bhojakāṭaka, in which Chammak (Charmāṅka) near Īlichpur was situated. That province, therefore, was equivalent roughly to the Īlichpur District.¹ The name Bhojakāṭaka, which means “castle of the Bhojas”, implies that the province (*rājyam*) was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Asoka, the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, Daśakumāracharita, and other works of Sanskrit literature.² The only conspicuous stronghold in the neighbourhood of Īlichpur is the famous fortress

¹ The Districts of Berār were re-arranged in 1905. Īlichpur, which used to be a separate District, was then merged in Amraoti (Amarāvati).

² The references are collected by Collins, p. 28.

of Gāwīlgaṛh, built on a mountain nearly 4,000 feet high and commanding a pass formerly of strategic importance. Although the ruined buildings now in existence are of Muhammadan date, none being older than the fifteenth century, such a position must have been held in force by the local rulers from the most remote times. The name of Gāwīlgaṛh suggests that the fortress was once occupied by the Gaolis, a so-called aboriginal tribe. I believe that Gāwīlgaṛh must have been Bhojakataka. It is not unlikely that the first Vākāṭaka Mahārāja may have established his power by seizing the old Bhoja stronghold, from which he gradually extended his dominions both to the north and to the south. But, inasmuch as we do not hear of Bhojakataka until about A.D. 400 in the time of the fifth Vākāṭaka Mahārāja, the conjecture that the first Mahārāja, a century earlier in date, had originally established himself at Gāwīlgaṛh is far from being proved.

The inscriptions state that Prithivīsheṇa (c. A.D. 340–90) vanquished the lord of Kuntala, and credit Harīsheṇa, the eighth Mahārāja (c. A.D. 465–500), with the conquest, not only of Kuntala, but of Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, and Andhra. A few words may be devoted to the explanation of those territorial or tribal names.

Kuntala is defined by Mr. Rice in general terms as “a province which included the western Dekhan and the north of Mysore”, and more particularly as the country between the Rivers Bhīma and Vedāvātī, bounded by the Ghāṭs on the west, and including the Shimoga and Chitraldurg Districts of the Mysore State, Bellary, now in Madras, and Dharwār and Bījāpur, now in Bombay, as well as certain adjacent tracts of the Nizam’s Dominions.¹

It is hardly necessary to explain that Avanti was the well-known kingdom in Mālwa, of which Ujjain

¹ *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 1909, p. 3; *Mysore Gazetteer*, i, 289, 1897.

(23° 11' N. and 75° 47' E.) was the capital. Up to about A.D. 395 Ujjain had been held by the Satraps of Mālhwā and Surāshṭra. It then passed under the rule of the Guptas, and so remained until the break up of the Gupta empire late in the fifth century, when the Vākāṭakas, like other local princes, freed themselves from the control of the weakened suzerain power, and were at liberty to extend their dominion. Kalinga, as is well known, was the country on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī.

The Kosala mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription must mean South Kosala or Mahā Kosala, which comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadī with its tributaries, and seems at times to have included a much larger area, now forming the eastern districts of the Central Provinces and the tributary states of Orissa. The early capital seems to have been Sirpur (Śrīpura) on the Mahānadī, now in the Rāipur District of the Central Provinces.¹

The name Trikūṭa means "three-peaked mountain". The exact position of the mountain referred to has not been determined, but the poet Kālidāsa, writing in the fifth century, states that it was situated in Aparānta, the region of the Konkan to the north of Bombay, which included the modern Thānā District. The mountain gave its name to a kingdom, the rulers of which, the Traikūṭakas, are mentioned in a few inscriptions and coin legends, dated in a special era, starting from A.D. 248-9. The latest known date for the dynasty is A.D. 494. The last Rāja presumably was suppressed by Harishena Vākāṭaka. The Traikūṭaka history thus further confirms the proposed Vākāṭaka chronology.²

¹ A.S.R., xvii, pp. 68-70, 1884.

² All the little information available about the Traikūṭakas has been collected and published by Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, in the British Museum, 1908. See especially sections 42, 132, 134.

Lāṭa means Southern Gujarāt, between the Mahi and Tāpti Rivers.¹

The Andhra country may, perhaps, be taken to mean Mahārāshṭra, the Marāthā country above the Ghāṭs, but at some periods the term had a wider signification.

The statement of the Ajanta inscription concerning the conquests made by Harishena, if true, implies that his victorious arms were carried right across the centre of India, from the Bombay coast to the shore of the Bay of Bengal. His campaigns, however, even if they really happened, probably amounted to nothing more than temporary incursions into foreign territory, at least in so far as the more distant kingdoms were concerned.

If any Vākātaka Rājas succeeded the victorious Harishena, we do not know their names, but, as already observed, we may conjecture that the dynasty continued to exist with greater or smaller possessions until the establishment of the Chalukya power in the sixth century.

The determination of the main outlines of the Vākātaka chronology is a matter of considerable importance for the history of Indian art, and involves the reconsideration of the dates tentatively assigned to certain buildings, sculptures, and paintings in *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, published in December, 1911.

My calculation assigns the long reign of Mahārāja Prithivishena Vākātaka to the period between A.D. 340 and 390, or, in less precise terms, to the second half of the fourth century. Prithivishena, therefore, was the contemporary of Samudragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, who reigned from about A.D. 330 to 375 or 380. The Nāchnā inscriptions of Prithivishena are inscribed in characters substantially the same as those of the Eran inscription of Samudragupta and the Udayagiri inscription dated A.D. 401 of Chandragupta II. The inscribed slab at Nāchnā clearly belonged to one of the early buildings

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 7, 1896.

at the site, which is that of the ancient capital of the local rulers. That capital was named Kuthāra and presumably was the residence of Prithivīsheṇa's subordinate chief, Vyāghradeva, who erected the structure to which the inscribed slab was originally attached.

It may well be that the structure in question was the remarkable little early temple of Pārvatī, described and illustrated by Cunningham, which undoubtedly offers an example of early Gupta architecture and sculpture—the art of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. I proceed to quote the most significant passages from Cunningham's description.

"The temple of Pārvatī," he writes, "is one of the most curious and interesting shrines that I have seen. It is curious from the conventional imitations of rock-work on all the outer faces of its walls. It is especially interesting, as it seems to preserve the old fashion of the temples cut in the rock. The figures on the outer walls and on the doorway are all in the Gupta style of sculpture. The entrance doorway has the figures of the Ganges and Jumna standing on their respective symbols, the crocodile and tortoise. And lastly, all the roofs are flat, like those of known Gupta temples at Sānchi, Eran, and Tigowa.

"The Pārvatī temple is a building of two storeys. It is nearly square, 15 feet 9 inches by 15 feet ['inches' in text], with plain, perpendicular walls. The lower storey is surrounded by a roofed cloister upwards of 5 feet wide, which is closed, except in front of the entrance door, by a wall 3 feet thick . . . The upper storey is quite plain both inside and outside. It was covered by a flat roof of apparently three slabs . . . The doorway of the lower storey is very richly carved with human figures in pairs on each jamb, ending with small statues of the Ganges and Jumna. The figures are all of the Gupta period, and are much superior to all mediaeval sculpture, both in the ease and gracefulness of their attitudes, as well as in the real beauty of the forms. The hair of the male figures is arranged in the same fashion as that of the Gupta kings on their coins, with rows of curls, like the wig of a judge. There are no obscene

figures . . . The outer faces of the wall (excepting only the upper room) are carved to imitate rock-work. A few figures are introduced, as well as a few lions or bears lying in holes or caves in the rock-work . . .

“The pilasters and . . . peculiar ornaments on the lintel of the doorway. All these belong to the Gupta style, as shown in the temples at Eran and Udayagiri. There is no inscription, and not even a single mason’s mark could be found on any of the stones. But the Gupta style of the figures, the returns at the ends of the door lintel for the reception of statues, the prominence given to the figures of the Ganges and Jumna, all point to a very early period.”

Cunningham then proceeds to describe the inscribed slab lying near, pronouncing that it “also certainly belongs to the Gupta period”.¹

When writing the *History of Fine Art* I was not able to discriminate between the various stages of the art of the early Gupta period, and accordingly treated the little flat-roofed temple at Tigawā in the Central Provinces as being of “about the same age” as the sculptures in Cave xxii at Ajanṭā, which I estimated as “somewhere about A.D. 500”.² I now think that the buildings of the Tigawā class with their sculptures are appreciably earlier in date, and belong mostly to the fourth century. My amended view finds expression in an illustrated article on “The Sculpture of the Gupta Period”, which is expected to appear in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* during 1914. I think that there is good reason for referring the temple of Pārvatī at Nachnā with its remarkable sculptures to the time of Prithivīśeṇa Vākāṭaka and his contemporary Samudragupta, that is to say, to the middle or second half of the fourth century. The inscribed slab of Prithivīśeṇa,

¹ A.S.R., vol. xxi, pp. 95-8, pls. xxv-vii, 1885. Plate xxvi gives slight indications of the nature of the sculptured ornaments, but no statue is figured. It is much to be desired that a good set of photographs of the temple and its sculptures should be obtained and published to illustrate the art of the reign of Samudragupta.

² H.F.A., p. 162.

if it was not attached to the Pārvatī temple, must surely have belonged to some structure of the same age.

The three Vākāṭaka inscriptions in Buddhist caves, viz. No. vi in Cave xvi at Ajaṇṭā, No. vii in Cave xvii at the same place, and No. viii in the Ghaṭotkacha cave near Gulwārā, about 11 miles west of Ajaṇṭā, are of special interest as determining the dates of the excavation of those caves with approximate accuracy. The Ghaṭotkacha record, which is perhaps the earliest, gives the genealogy of Hastibhoja, a Malabar Brahman of the Vallūra subdivision, who was the minister of the Vākāṭaka king, Devasena. Unfortunately, the latter portion of the document is lost, and it is not certain whether the cave was dedicated by Hastibhoja himself or by some of his descendants. Anyhow, the inscription must belong to the reign of either Devasena or his son Harishena. The date of the cave, therefore, must be placed certainly in the fifth century, and probably in the second half of that century.

The inscription No. vi, which is better preserved, records the dedication of Cave xvi at Ajaṇṭā by king Harishena's minister, Varāhadeva, who was son of the above-mentioned Hastibhoja, the minister of Devasena.

Inscription No. vii, which is much mutilated, records the dedication of Cave xvii at Ajaṇṭā by a member of a family of local princes, presumably subordinate to the Vākāṭakas, the name of Harishena, apparently the Vākāṭaka king, being mentioned in v. 21.

The result is that Caves xvi and xvii at Ajaṇṭā and the Ghaṭotkacha cave near Gulwārā are proved to be approximately contemporary. All three were excavated in the reign of either Devasena Vākāṭaka or his son Harishena, and all three may be dated with confidence in the second half of the fifth century, a determination sufficiently precise for the purposes of the history of art.

When *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* was published at the close of 1911, I had not gone closely into the Vākāṭaka problem as I have now done. Professor Pāthak's inscription had not then come to light, and I was influenced by the suspicion that the Devagupta whose daughter was married to Rudrasena II Vākāṭaka might possibly have been the prince named Devagupta who belonged to the minor dynasty of the Later Guptas of Magadha, about A.D. 700. Accordingly, I dated Caves xiv-xx, with xxi-ix and i-v, as having been all excavated between A.D. 500 and 642, observing that the bulk of the paintings must be assigned to the time of the great Chalukya kings, A.D. 550 and 642, although some may have been executed under the patronage of the earlier Vākāṭaka kings of Berar. I alluded to the existence of a Vākāṭaka record in Cave xvi, but failed to take note of the connected epigraphs in Cave xvii and the Ghaṭotkacha cave.

The clearing up of the Vākāṭaka chronology effected in this essay considerably antedates Caves xvi and xvii at Ajanṭā, and makes it possible that some of the other caves included in the numbers xiv-xx and xxi-ix may be as early. Nos. i-v probably are the latest of all. The absence of inscriptions renders precise chronology of the whole series impossible, and we should remember that the excavation of spacious halls in the solid rock must have taken a long time. The execution of each of the more important works must have extended over several years, and as to the paintings, they may have been added or extended from time to time. But when allowance is duly made for all these considerations, a definite advance in the chronology of Indian art results from the determination of the fact that three important Buddhist cave-shrines, namely, Caves Nos. xvi and xvii at Ajanṭā, as well as the Ghaṭotkacha cave near Gulwārā, were dedicated at some time in the second half of the

fifth century. At Kuchāra (Nāchnā) we find a Vākāṭaka inscription associated with distinctive early Gupta sculpture of the fourth century. At Ajaṇṭā and Gulwārā we find other Vākāṭaka inscriptions associated with other manifestations of the artistic impulse which distinguished the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumārāgupta I in the fifth century—the age of Kālidāsa. The Vākāṭaka princes, therefore, are entitled to a share in the glory of the golden age of the Guptas, a share only now restored to them after their very existence had been forgotten for many centuries.

The results of the inquiry may be summed up briefly as follows:—

The Vākāṭaka dynasty, comprising eight ruling chiefs and nine generations, lasted for at least two centuries in round numbers, from about A.D. 300–500. It may have survived the latter date for half a century or so, but if it did no record of the fact has been discovered. The derivation and meaning of the name, which seems to be an adjective based on a form *Vakāṭa*, are unknown. We are equally ignorant as to the race and origin of the chiefs, who may possibly have been foreigners connected with the Satraps of Ujjain and Surāshṭra. The first Mahārāja, Pravarasena I, is credited with the performance of many Hindu sacrifices, including four *aśvamedhas*, or horse-sacrifices, a vaunt which implies that he actually established a considerable amount of control over his neighbours. But we do not know either where the seat of his dominion was situated or how he attained such power as he possessed. He was succeeded by a grandson, and presumably enjoyed a long reign. A record of the 4th Mahārāja, Prithivīshena, has been found in the Ajaygarh State, to the south-west of Allahabad, and is associated with buildings and good sculptures in the early Gupta style of the fourth century. Prithivīshena is said to have conquered Kuntala, far to the south in the

Deccan, and is credited with a reign of abnormal length. His son, Rudrasena II, married a daughter of the emperor Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, probably about A.D. 390–5, when that monarch annexed Mālhwā.

Rudrasena's son, Pravarasena II, certainly was in possession of Eastern Berār (Īlichpur) and of a considerable part of the western districts of the modern Central Provinces, and is known to have reigned for at least twenty-three years. A prince whose name has been lost seems to have intervened between Pravarasena and Devasena, whose Brahman minister (or perhaps a son of the minister) dedicated the Ghaṭotkacha cave at Gulwārā, near Ajañṭā. This last known Rāja was Harishena, son of Devasena, and it is certain that Cave xvi, at Ajañṭā, was dedicated in his reign. It is highly probable that Cave xvii was dedicated at about the same time, that is to say, during the second half of the fifth century.

The establishment of the chronology of the dynasty in a general way is specially important for the history of art as supplying approximate dates for the temple and sculptures in early Gupta style at Kuthāra or Nāchnā, for two caves at Ajañṭā, and for the Ghaṭotkacha cave at Gulwārā. The dynasty probably came to an end when the Chalukya power was established in the sixth century.

XI

KHOTAN STUDIES

By STEN KONOW

ABOUT twelve years ago Dr. Hoernle published¹ a series of ancient documents written in Brāhmī characters and an Iranian language. There was and is some uncertainty about the exact spot or spots where they were found. Some of them had been bought "from a Khotan trader Badruddīn, who could or would give no information". Others were said to have been dug out from a buried town near Kuchar. The interpretation of these documents has not advanced much since they were edited, though we now know that they are written in the same tongue which is used in numerous fragments and MSS. found in Eastern Turkistan, and which has been variously designated North Aryan, East Iranian, Tokharī, and Khotanese. The alphabet in which these documents are written, on the other hand, is much better known now than twelve years ago. Dr. Hoernle has published² tables found in Central Asia and containing complete alphabets, so that we are now relatively well informed about the value of the different signs. Moreover, a comparison with other manuscript finds from Turkistan has shown that some signs were not from the beginning correctly transliterated. In the present connexion it is of importance that we now know that two different signs were originally confounded and invariably transliterated *ñ*. One of them, however, denotes an *r*-sound, and is now usually transcribed *rr*.

¹ *A Report of the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia*, pt. ii, pp. 30 ff., Calcutta, 1902.

² JRAS. 1911, pp. 447 ff.

Several of the Iranian documents are dated, but it has not hitherto proved possible to interpret these dates. Together with them were found Chinese documents carrying dates ranging from A.D. 768 to 790. Dr. Hoernle inferred from this fact that the Iranian documents belonged to the same period, and he was of opinion that they might have come from the buried site of Dandan Oiliq. The Chinese documents have since been published by M. Chavannes,¹ and it is curious to see that one of them mentions a petition written in "barbaric" language and hailing from the Khotan country. This statement seems to show that the home tongue of the Khotan people was used in public documents in the last half of the eighth century A.D. Moreover, one of the Chinese documents which is stated to have been dug out near Kuchar, and which is a certificate of payment of taxes, contains three Brāhmī akṣaras, *rā-hau-ḍe*, which show that they hail from a part of the country where the Iranian language of the documents was used. *Hauḍe* is a well-known word belonging to that form of speech and meaning "gave". *Rā* is therefore probably an abbreviation of the name of the person who did pay. I hope to be able to prove that Dr. Hoernle was right both in thinking that the documents belong to the Khotan country and that they should be dated in the second half of the eighth century A.D.

Two of the Iranian documents, Hoernle's Nos. 1 and 12, have an almost identical beginning. If we substitute *rr* for *ñ* in its proper place, No. 1 begins—

*om salī 10 7 māšto Skarhvāro haḍā 5 hvaṇ-no-rruṇ-
do-vi-śa-vā-haṇ ;*

and No. 12—

*om salī 20 māstā Cvātāja haḍā 10 3 mye hvaṇ-nā-
rrāṇ-dā-vā-śa-vā-haṇ.*

¹ See M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, pp. 521 ff.

The words containing the actual dates are quite clear and mean "year 17 (20), month Skarhvāro (Cvātaja), days 5 (13th)". The remainder has not yet been translated.

If we compare the two texts, we will at once notice that we in No. 1 often find *o* where No. 12 reads *ä*; cf. *māšto* and *māstä*, etc. An examination of the context of No. 1 will reveal the fact that the sign *ä*, which is so common in all other Turkistano-Iranian texts, does not occur a single time, but is always replaced by *o*. Thus, *ttoña beḍa* instead of *ttäña beḍa*, at that time; *ci-buro* instead of *ci-burä*, as many as. Now an examination of the plate will show that the sign which has been transliterated *o* is a simple curve above the akṣara. In the alphabet published by Dr. Hoernle, on the other hand, there is always an indenture in the middle. I therefore feel convinced that the curve does not denote *o* at all, but is a cursive way of writing *ä*, which is in other documents denoted by means of the curve with a dot to its left. In fols. 7 and 8 of the *Aparimitāyuhṣūtra*, which are written in cursive Brāhmī,¹ the sign of *ä* has in this way become almost like an anusvāra, so that e.g. the word *väsūde* was misread as *vaṃsūde* in the first edition of those leaves.

The beginning of No. 1 must accordingly be read: *oṃ salī 10 7 māstä Skarhvārä haḍā 5 hvāṃ-nä-rruṃ-dä-vi-śa-vā-haṃ*. It will be seen that the only difference in the last part of the legend from No. 12 is that the latter reads *rrāṃ-dä* while No. 1 has *rruṃ-dä*, for *vi* and *vä* are, as we know from numerous examples, interchangeable.

Now *rruṃdä* is a well-known word. It is the genitive singular of *rre*, king, and it becomes probable that *rrāṃdä* in No. 12, which does not look like any known word in the language, is miswritten instead of *rruṃdä*. This supposition will be proved if it can be shown that the dates in Nos. 1 and 12 are, in fact, what the word *rruṃdä* seems to show, given in regnal years.

¹ See Hoernle, JRAS. 1911, p. 468 f.

If *rrumḍä* means "of the king", we would naturally expect to find a nearer designation of the king in the word *hvaṇṇä* preceding it. We may compare *kalä rri*, the Kali king or, the king of Kali, in the Vajracchedikā. The form *hvaṇṇä* itself may stand for *hvaṇṇä* and for *hvanä*, for the anusvāra is in the documents commonly used instead of other nasals before consonants, and, on the other hand, it is quite common to add an anusvāra before other nasals. Now the T'ang-shu¹ and Hsüan-tsang² inform us that, in the days of the T'ang dynasty the colloquial form of the name of the Khotan oasis was *Huan-na*. It seems evident that this *Huan-na* is identical with the word *hvaṇṇä* occurring in documents Nos. 1 and 12, and that they are accordingly dated during the rule of a Khotan king, and that this is actually the case will be proved when we consider the word following after *rrumḍä*, viz. *viśavāhaṃ* or *vāśavāhaṃ*. If I am right in translating *hvaṇṇä rrumḍä* as "of the Khotan king", we would expect to find the name of the king in the next word, and if we remember that the name *Huan-na* of Khotan is only known from the T'ang annals and from Hsüan-tsang, we would naturally think of a Khotan king during the T'ang period. Now the T'ang-shu informs us³ that the name of the royal family in Khotan was Wei-chih, and it has long been recognized that this Wei-chih must represent the word *viśaya*, which occurs as the first component of the names of Khotan kings in some lists which have been preserved in Tibetan literature, and which have been published by Mr. W. W. Rockhill,⁴ with additions by Dr. Thomas,⁵ and by Babu Sarat

¹ Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 125, St. Petersburg, 1903.

² Stein, loc. cit., p. 153.

³ Chavannes, loc. cit., p. 126.

⁴ *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order*, pp. 230 ff. London, 1884.

⁵ Stein, loc. cit., pp. 581 ff.

Chandra Das.¹ If we now look at these lists we will find a name which seems to correspond to *viśavāham* in the documents, viz. the king whom Sarat Chandra calls *Vijayavahana* and Dr. Thomas *Vijayabohan chen-po*, i.e. the great. The letter ś in Turkistano-Iranian is sometimes used instead of j in Indian loan-words. Professor Leumann² mentions such instances as *pūśa* = *pūjā* and *rrāśa* = *rājā*. The curve under śa may well denote some shortening, so that *viśa* would naturally represent a Skr. *viśaya*. Finally, *vāham* is the natural representative of a Skr. *vāhana*; cf. *āysam* = Skr. *āsana*, seat. *Viśavāham* is therefore as near an approach to the sound in Skr. *Vijayavāhana* as we could expect, and there can be no doubt that we have here a welcome proof that the Tibetan lists must have some foundation in fact. Moreover, we must infer that the two documents refer themselves to Khotan, to the times of King Vijayavāhana.

It will be seen that the two Iranian documents thus conclusively show that the language in which they are written was the vernacular of the Khotan oasis. I think that it can be made almost certain that the same tongue has been spoken in Khotan since the beginning of our era. But then it will be difficult to adopt the ingenious theory of Professor Lüders,³ that the Turkistano-Iranian language was the home tongue of the Śakas. The Śakas do not seem to have been permanently established in Khotan. There are also, as I shall try to show in another place, some other features which militate against this theory. Provisionally, therefore, I shall stick to the name Khotanī suggested by Professor Kirste.⁴

¹ "Buddhist and other Legends about Khotan": JASB., vol. lv, pt. i, pp. 193 ff.

² *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, p. 67, Strassburg, 1912.

³ "Die Śakas und die 'nordarische' Sprache": Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913, pp. 406 ff.

⁴ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. xxvi, p. 394.

The question now arises about the period when *Viśa-vāhaṇ-Vijayavāhana* lived. The historical information contained in the Tibetan list is so scanty that it is extremely difficult to arrive at any certain results, the more so because a comparison of the lists published by Messrs. Rockhill and Thomas on one side and by Sarat Chandra on the other shows that the Tibetan tradition is not quite certain. Still, we must try to arrive at some provisional result.

At the head of the Khotan dynasty the Tibetan texts place *Kustana* or *Salana*, who is said to have been born to the queen of Emperor Aśoka, and to have been carried off by Vaiśravaṇa to the king of China. Twelve years old, he then became king of Khotan 234 years after the Nirvāṇa. Though a similar legend is related by Hsüan-tsang, and the story thus is evidently based on Khotan chronicles, it hardly deserves more credit than similar eponymous legends elsewhere. Kustana's son was *Ye-u-la*, who founded the capital of the kingdom, and he would consequently have to be dated at least two hundred years B.C. if the synchronism of Kustana and Aśoka could be accepted. The Annals of the Later Hans¹ inform us that, towards the end of the reign of Kuang-wu-ti (A.D. 25–57), the king of So-ch'è (Yarkand), having become very powerful, reduced *Yü-lin*, the king of Khotan, to the position of *li-kuei*. Now if we remember that both *Ye-u-la* and *Yü-lin* are not indigenous Tibetan and Chinese words, but attempts at rendering the sounds of foreign names, the striking similarity between the two words makes it extremely probable that they represent one and the same Khotanī name, and in that case *Ye-u-la* would belong to the first half of the first century A.D. This supposition is further supported by what the Chinese

¹ See for this and other statements in what follows Abel Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*, pp. 3 ff., Paris, 1820, and Stein, loc. cit., pp. 166 ff.

and Tibetan sources tell us about the successors of Ye-u-la and Yü-lin respectively.

The Han Annals tell us that during the period Yung-phing (A.D. 58-75) the Khotan general *Hiu-mo-pa* revolted and assumed the title of king of Khotan. He must accordingly be considered as the founder of the national Khotan dynasty. According to the Tibetan annals, on the other hand, Ye-u-la's son *Vijayasambhava*, who was born 165, or according to Sarat Chandra 65, years after the establishment of the kingdom, succeeded him. With *Vijayasambhava* begins a long series of Khotan kings whose names all begin with *Vijaya*. If there is any truth, in the Chinese statement that *Wei-chih-Vijaya* was the family name of the kings, it is of interest to note that this *Vijaya* dynasty, according to Tibetan tradition, begins where the Han Annals place the foundation of the national Khotan kingdom. This constitutes one point of analogy between the Chinese and Tibetan sources. We hear of *Vijayasambhava* that in his fifth year Buddhism was introduced in Khotan. The Ārya Vairocana became the spiritual guide of the inhabitants and taught the ignorant cattle herders in the Li (i.e. Khotan) language and invented the characters of Li. Now there does not seem to be any reason for doubting that Buddhism, and I may add Indian civilization, was introduced in Khotan during *Vijayasambhava*'s reign. It is therefore quite natural that his predecessors have names which are not Indian. It seems also necessary to infer that *Vijayasambhava* or *Sambhava* is the translation of some Khotanī name which the king used before the introduction of Buddhism. If we remember that Khotanī *hamphuta* corresponds to Sanskrit *sambhūta* and *o* to *ava*, we would infer a Khotanī name *Hampho*, and the Chinese *Hiu-mo-pa* can, so far as I can see, very well be an attempt at rendering such a name. I therefore think that we can put down as almost certain

that Buddhism was introduced in Khotan in the third quarter of the first century A.D., i.e. about the time when the power of the Kuṣāṇas, who spoke the same language as the Khotanese, was consolidated under Kadphises. I do not think that this coincidence is a mere matter of chance.

After Vijayasambhava follow eleven generations, only two of which are mentioned by name. No historical information is given which allows us to settle their date. Then comes king *Vijayadharma*, who is said to have been a powerful king, who was constantly engaged in war. Later on he became a Buddhist and retired to Kashgar. We know from Chinese sources that Kashgar had formerly developed great power, but that it became dependent on Khotan during the epoch of the three kingdoms (A.D. 220–64). It is then probable that this was the time of the powerful king Vijayadharma. He was succeeded by *Vijayasimha*, and he again by *Vijayakīrti*, who is said to have carried war into India and to have overthrown Sāketa, together with King Kanika, or the king of Kanika, and the Guzan king.¹ Guzan here evidently stands for Kuṣāṇa, but we have no means for establishing the identity of the Kuṣāṇa king alluded to.

No historical information is given about the next ten or eleven generations. We are only told that Khotan was frequently invaded by enemies. Thus the Drug-gu king A-no-śos invaded Khotan and destroyed the vihāras as far as 'Ge-u-to-śan. Drug-gu can hardly be anything but Turks. It is evident that these generations of kings ruled during the years when Khotan was oppressed by the T'u-yü-hun (A.D. 445), the Juan-juan (circa A.D. 470), the Hephthalites (c. A.D. 500–56), and the Western Turks (c. A.D. 565–631). Then the Khotan king *Vijayasamgrāma* is introduced, of whom we hear that he carried war into

¹ See Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii, p. 349.

the territory of the Drug-gu and caused great slaughter. That can only mean that he lived when the empire of the Western Turks fell to pieces about A.D. 630. We are thus reminded of a passage in T'ang-shu which has been translated by M. Chavannes: "The family name of the king (of Khotan) is *Wei-chih*; his personal name is *Wu-mi*. Originally he was subject to the Tu-küe. In the sixth year Cheng-kuan [632] he sent an envoy with presents [to the Chinese Court]. Three years later he sent his son." Now I am unable to see any way of identifying the names *Wu-mi* and *Samgrāma*, though I think we must identify the two kings. We will have to assume that Vijayasamgrāma had another Khotani name which the Chinese have rendered Wu-mi.

After Vijayasamgrāma follows *Vijayasimha*, of whom we hear that he was a contemporary of an Arhat Dharmapāla. If his predecessor was Wu-mi, Vijayasimha would be identical with *Fu-tu Sin*, who sent his son to China in A.D. 648 and later on went there himself. Dr. Hoernle, who has been good enough to consult Professor Bullock and Mr. Parker about the word *Fu-tu*, informs me that the correct transliteration is probably *Fu-ch'a*, which seems to be another rendering of *Vijaya*, or, rather, of *Viśa*. *Sin* I take to be the Chinese rendering of the Khotanese pronunciation of *Simha*. But then Vijayasimha must be the king who ruled in Khotan during Hsüan-tsang's stay there in A.D. 644, and Dharmapāla can very well be the famous teacher in Nālandā of whom we hear in the Si-yu-ki, and whose fame Hsüan-tsang could have propagated in Khotan.

We are further introduced to some generations of whom I cannot make anything. We are only told about the religious buildings erected during their rule. Then we hear of another *Vijayakīrti*, during whose reign Khotan is said to have been conquered by the Tibetans. Sarat Chandra Das states that this happened under the

Tibetan king Sron-btsan-sgam-po (died 650). That must, however, be a mistake, as the first Tibetan invasion of Khotan took place in A.D. 665. Vijayakīrti must therefore be the king whom the Chinese call *Fu-tu Hiung*, who went to China about A.D. 674 and was honoured on account of his merits in fighting the Tibetans. There is not, however, any similarity between the two names. Chinese *hiung* is said to mean "masculine".

Vijayakīrti's son *Vijayasamgrāma*, or, according to Sarat Chandra Das, *Vijayagrāma*, was killed by the Drug-gu during a visit to China. Fu-tu Hiung's son, on the other hand, was *King*. During his times there was some trouble with the Turks, A.D. 705-6, when the Turkish chief K'ü-ch'uo attacked Khotan. Also, the Tibetans began to be troublesome. We hear about envoys from King during the period K'ai-yün (713-41), and especially in A.D. 717. If the Sanskrit form *Vijayagrāma* is the correct one, we might expect a popular form *Gām*; cf. the name *Puñā-gām* occurring in the Iranian documents, and *King*, which is elsewhere used to denote Skr. *gaṇ*, might well be a rendering of this *Gām*.

On Vijayasamgrāma's death his son *Vijayasamgrāma* or *Vijayavikrama* was a minor, and the minister A-ma-la-ke-meg ruled as a regent for twelve years. During this regency we would have to date the king T'iao, who was in secret alliance with the Western Turks, and was, therefore, executed by the Chinese in A.D. 725. We have seen that Vijayasamgrāma is said to have been killed by the Drug-gu. It seems natural to infer that T'iao entered into alliance with the Turks in order to remove Vijayasamgrāma, and that he actually succeeded in bringing about his death, but was prevented by the Chinese from ascending the throne. We are told that in A.D. 728 the Chinese court placed *Fu-shih Chan* on the throne, and he is then probably identical with Vijayasamgrāma's son.

Dr. Thomas kindly informs me that Chinese *chan* can be a rendering of *saṃgrāma*. It is therefore probable that the name of Vijayasamgrāma's son was likewise Vijaya-samgrāma. The name Vijayavikrama, however, also seems to be used about him, and it may be assumed that he adopted that name when he became king.

Fu-shih Chan's successor was *Fu-tu Ta* (about A.D. 736), and he is evidently identical with *Vijayadharmā*,¹ who built a vihāra together with a Chinese minister or envoy Ser-the-si. Then, we are told, the Chinese minister or envoy Ka-the-si and King *Vijayasambhava* built a vihāra and a stūpa called Su-stoñ-ña. Then *Vijayabohan* the great rebuilt this stūpa. This is the last king in Sarat Chandra Das' list, and it is just possible that the next entries in Dr. Thomas' list refer to the queens of the kings already enumerated. And, at all events, every mention of China now disappears from the lists. It is, then, a curious coincidence, which adds support to the chronology here adopted, that the Chinese notices about Khotan only carry us down to the same point. We hear that Fu-tu Ta was succeeded by *Wei-chih Kuei*, whose wife *Ma* was granted the title of princess in A.D. 740. Kuei cannot have ruled long, for his successor *Sheng* assisted China on an expedition in A.D. 747. He married a Chinese princess, and in 756 he left Khotan for good in order to assist the Chinese. He died in China, and his brother *Wei-chih Yao*, who began his rule in A.D. 756, was still on the throne in 786. One of these kings must then be identical with *Vijayabohan*, who must further be the King *Viśavāham* of the documents. Document No. 12 is dated in his 20th year. Neither Kuei nor Sheng ruled as much as twenty years, and we are thus necessarily led to the conclusion that Yao must be identified with *Viśavāham*. That would mean that we would have to account for two kings Kuei and Sheng, where the Tibetan list only

¹ The Khotanese for *dharma* is *dā*.

mentions one, Vijayasambhava. Dr. Thomas informs me that Chinese *sheng* means "to be adequate", "to sustain", "to be worthy". It can therefore well be a translation of *sambhava*, and we would have to infer that Kuei is not mentioned at all in the Tibetan lists. I do not think, however, that this difficulty is great, because the Tibetan list only mentions such kings as built Buddhist sanctuaries. It is possible that the designation *chen-po*, the great, used of Vijayabohan in the Tibetan list, is a translation of a Khotanese surname, which the Chinese have rendered with *yao*, glorious. He seems to have been the last Khotan king who asserted his independence against the Tibetans. After his time Khotan passed under the rule of the king of Tibet, as mentioned in a "prophecy" handed down in Tibetan literature.¹

My analysis of the Tibetan lists of Khotan kings has thus led to the result that the documents of the 17th and 20th years of *Viśavāhaṃ* belong to the same time as the Chinese documents found together with them, as was supposed by Dr. Hoernle. It is probable that the remaining documents are about contemporaneous, as the same personal names occur in many of them. Thus, *Añjāṃ* in No. 4 is evidently identical with *Añjai* in No. 9; *Arsāli* in No. 9 with *Arsalaṃ* in No. 12; *Brīyāsī* in No. 1 with *Brīyyāsī* in No. 9; cf. further *Budaśāṃ* and *Hatkaṃ* in Nos. 1 and 13; *Jsaṃsakä* in Nos. 9, 11, 13; *Mahvetari*, No. 9, and *Mahvittarä*, No. 18; *Maiyadatä*, No. 9, and *Mayadattä*, No. 13; *Ñuhadattä*, Nos. 13 and 17; *Pheṃkruki*, Nos. 9, 13, 15, 17, 48; *Puñagāṃ*, Nos. 1, 9, 15, 48; *Śalā*, No. 9, and *Śalāṃ*, No. 17. We can, therefore, safely conclude that the remaining documents which mention a year (*salī*) also belong to the reign of *Viśavāhaṃ*. These are² the years 1 in No. 15, 5 in

¹ Sarat Chandra Das, JASB. vol. lv, pt. i, p. 199 f.

² Dr. Hoernle has been good enough to give me revised readings of the dates occurring in the documents. No. 15, which was originally

No. 14, 11 in No. 2, 17 in No. 1, 20 in Nos. 10, 12, 13, and 22 in No. 9. If *Viśavāhaṃ*'s reign is dated from A.D. 756, these dates would range from 756 to 778, while the dated Chinese documents cover the period 768–90.

Some documents are not dated in years, *salī*, but in *kṣāṇas*, and one was originally said to be dated in both, viz. in the 19th *kṣāṇa*, and the 20th year. Dr. Hoernle, however, now informs me that this was a mistake, and that the following is the state of affairs :—

No. 8 is dated *17mye kṣāṇā ṣauṣacū salya*, where *ṣauṣacū* cannot be a numeral, and does not look like any Khotanī word which I know.

No. 10 consists of two parts: The first is dated “on the 20th day of the month *Ñāhaja*, in the 20th year”, and the second “*kṣāṇa* in the 20th year”.

No. 11 is dated “on the 23rd day of the month *Khaysāja*, in the 19th *kṣāṇi*”.

It will be seen from No. 10 that the two dates are referred, one to the 20th year and the other to *kṣāṇi* the 20th year. It here seems as if *salī* and *kṣāṇi salī* denote one and the same thing. In No. 11, which is dated in the 19th *kṣāṇi*, a person *Jsajsaka* is mentioned, who is evidently the same person who occurs in No. 9 from the 22nd year (*salī*) and No. 13 from the 20th. It therefore seems as if *kṣāṇi* in No. 11 signifies the same thing as *salī* in Nos. 9 and 13. It becomes impossible to think, as originally suggested by Dr. Hoernle, that *kṣāṇa* means some greater period, a kind of cycle.

Now it seems evident that *kṣāṇa* means the same thing as the word *kṣum* which occurs in a series of documents

said to be dated in the 6th year, has the date *ṣṣauṣacū salya paḍauyse*, i.e. in the first year *ṣṣauṣacū*; No. 3, which was said to mention the third year, gives month and day and then goes on *Hvaṃ[n]ä rrāmdä* (i.e. *rrumḍä*) *Vüśavāhaṃ ṣṣauṣanīrū salya*, in the *ṣṣauṣanīrū* year of the Khotan king *Viśavāhaṃ*, where *ṣṣauṣanīrū* must be connected with *ṣṣauṣacū* in No. 15.

hailing from the neighbourhood of Kuchar and written in the language which most scholars have hitherto called Tokharī B, but which we now will have to designate Kucharī. In a masterly paper Professor Lévi has shown¹ that this *kṣum* denotes regnal years, counted from the beginning of the reign of a Kuchar king. The ordinary word for "year" in Kucharī is *pikul*, and *kṣum* does not seem to be a Kucharī word at all. Its use, however, seems to be exactly similar to the use of *kṣāṇa* in the Iranian documents, and this word must accordingly have a similar meaning. A suitable etymology, then, at once presents itself. *Kṣāṇa* must be derived from the base in Zd. *χšāy*, from which we have Soghdian *χšāvan*, might; *χšēvanē*, king,² Persian *šāh*. As pointed out by Professor Reichelt,³ Iranian *χš* is often written in the Indian way, *kṣ*; f.i. *kṣīra*, Zd. *šōiθra*. *Kṣāṇa* might be an ordinary present participle, just as we find *ṣtāna*, standing, being, from *ṣta*. But in that case we would expect an oblique singular *kṣāṇye*. It is, therefore, more likely that *kṣāṇa* is a noun meaning "rule", "reign", and *kṣāṇā salī* would then mean "year of the rule", "regnal year".

This reckoning by regnal years in a Chinese dependency is probably an imitation of the Chinese regnal periods, the *nien-hao*. It is also possible that we find traces of the use of devices of these periods as in Chinese. Thus we hear that the year A.D. 940 is designated as the 29th year T'ung-ch'ing, and Sir Aurel Stein⁴ has maintained that this designation relates to the use of some local era. It is, however, more likely that T'ung-ch'ing was the device of the period of the then ruling king Li Sheng-tien. Similarly the word *ṣauṣacū* in No. 8, which also occurs in No. 15, and the word *ṣṣauṣanīrā* in No. 3,

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, pp. 311 ff.

² See Staël-Holstein, p. 84, n. 2, above.

³ *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, vol. i, p. 27.

⁴ Stein, loc. cit., p. 179.

which is evidently connected, may have been the device of Viśavāham's reign. I offer this explanation with considerable diffidence, the more so because I am unable to suggest any explanation of the words *ṣṣauṣacū* and *ṣṣauṣanīrā*. It seems, however, probable that *kṣāṇa* does not denote a cycle of any definite length, but "reign", "rule", and refers itself to regnal periods in imitation of the *nien-hao*. But if that is so the word is Iranian, and Kucharī *kṣum*, which is apparently used in the same way, is borrowed from *kṣāṇa*. This is not in itself improbable, for there are apparently also other instances of loans by Kucharī from Khotanī. Thus Kucharī *ṣamāne*, a *śramaṇa*, has probably come to Kuchar through a language of the same kind as Khotanī, where *ṣ* regularly corresponds to Aryan *śr* and where the word *ṣamana* is common, be it that this language was Khotanī itself or the language of the Yüe-chi, from whom the Chinese are said to have received or heard of Buddhist sūtras in 2 B.C.¹

¹ See Franke, "Zur Frage der Einführung des Buddhismus in China": Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Jahr. xiii, Abt. i, pp. 3 ff.

XII

THE KALAS

BY DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH AND E. MÜLLER

The present article was originally intended to be a supplement to Dr. Venkatasubbiah's dissertation on the Kalās, presented to the philosophical faculty of the University of Berne in 1910 and printed at Madras in 1911. Considering, however, the possibility that a certain number of European Sanskritists may not be acquainted with this dissertation, we believe it necessary to repeat here the most important points which have been discussed there, hoping that in this form the article may be understood by all scholars interested in these matters.—E. M.

THE word *kalā* has been translated in different ways in Sanskrit dictionaries, and, in fact, it is difficult to find in European languages an equivalent which corresponds exactly to this *terminus technicus*. Monier-Williams gives "any practical art, any mechanical or fine art"; the St. Petersburg dictionary has "Kunst, Kunstgriff, Kunstfertigkeit, Handwerk"; Böhtlingk in Hemacandra, 900, simply "Handwerk". In the same passage we find that, according to Hemacandra, *kalā* is identical with *çilpaṃ* and *viññānaṃ*, and this is confirmed with regard to *çilpaṃ* by the *Amarakosha*. The article on the *kalās* in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 32 ff. (quoted by Aufrecht in his Catalogue of the Oxford MSS., p. 217a), terminates thus: *iti catuḥśaṣṭīr aṅgavidyāḥ kāmasūtrasyāvayavinyah*. *Kalā* is considered here as identical with *vidyā*. After all it seems that the translation "arts and sciences" is the most suitable. Cf. Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, transl. by Hertel, p. 52.

In the *Rigveda* the word *kalā* means "the sixteenth part", and is only used in this sense. But *Rigveda*, vii, 18. 15, we have *prakalāvid*, and this occurs also

Nighaṇṭu, iv, 3. 25. Yāska, in his commentary *Nirukta* (vi, 6), says: *prakalavid vaṇig bhavati kalāḥ ca veda-prakalāḥ ca*. From this and from Durga's comment on this it does not clearly appear that the word *kalā* here refers to the arts and sciences. Devarāja's comment on this word in the *Nighaṇṭu* runs thus: *prakalavid prakarshena kalāḥ mānonmānapratimānādivishayāḥ prakṛiṣṭāḥvagaṇitaratnaparīkshādikā veda vijānāti*. This seems distinctly to refer the word *kalā* to the arts. And if, as it appears, the Vedic Aryans were much advanced in civilization, it is not improbable that they might have been acquainted with the *kalās* in this sense and that certain arts were already definitely grouped together as *kalās*.

The next passage to be mentioned here is in the *Mahābhārata* (Kumbhakonam edition, pt. xli, p. 86, śloka 38), where Garga says that Īiva instructed him in the sixty-four *kalās*.

Other passages about the *kalās* are the following:—

muniveṇapraticehannās tatra gacchantu yoshitāḥ |
upāyajñāḥ kalājñāḥ ca vaiṇike pariniṣṭhitāḥ ||

Rāmāyaṇa, i, 9. 5.

ahorātraic catuṣṣhasṭyā samyattau tāvatīḥ kalāḥ |
gurudakṣiṇayācāryaṃ chandayām āsatur nr̥pa ||

Bhāgavata, x, 45. 36.

ity evaṃ ādyāsu sarvakarmakalāsu bodhisattva eva
viśishyate sma. *Lalitavistara*, p. 179.

catuṣṣhasṭi kāmakalitāni cānubhaviyā
nūpuramekhalā abhihanī vigalitavasanāḥ |
kāmasarāhatāḥ samadanāḥ prahasitavadanāḥ
kiṃ tava āryaputra vikṛtaṃ yadi na bhajase ||

Lalitavistara, p. 417.

aparokṣhabuddhir vividhakalpāḥrayāsu kalāsu.

Jātakamālā, p. 105.

mātrvad asyāḥ kalā santi na santi.

Mahābhāshya, i, 1. 57, quoted in

Ind. Studien, xiii, 471.

catuḥshashtīkalāgamaprayogacaturāḥ.

Dacakumāracarita, ii, 21.

Usabhe lehāiyāo gaṇiyappahāṇāo saṇaruyapajjava-
sāṇāo bāvattariṃ kalāo causatṭhiṃ ca mahilāguṇe
uvadisai.

Kalpasūtra, 211.

Jacobi (SBE. xxii, p. 282) translates this: "Rshabha taught seventy-two sciences, of which writing is the first, arithmetic the most important, and the knowledge of omens the last, and the sixty-four accomplishments of women."

The sixty-four arts of the courtezans, as given in the fourth chapter of the *Kalāvilāsa*, by Kshemendra, correspond most probably with the sixty-four accomplishments of women as taught by Rshabha. The German equivalents of these are given by J. J. Meyer in the introduction to his translation of Kshemendra's *Samayamātrkā*, pp. xlvii–ix, and in a somewhat different way by Richard Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, p. 569 f.

Another difficult question is about the antiquity of this *terminus technicus*. Venkatasubbiah (p. 62 f.) quotes a passage from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (ii, 28, 29) which narrates the origin of the *kalās* at the same time and under the same circumstances with the forty-nine *Bhāvas* and the *Hāvas*. The earlier *Purāṇas*, however, like the *Vishṇu* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, and also the *Muṇḍaka* and *Chāndogya Upanishads* do not mention them.

The number of the *kalās* is fixed at sixty-four by Vātsyāyana, while the Jaina texts uniformly mention seventy-two and the *Lalitavistara* even eighty-six. The number sixty-four is the original one, as it follows the subdivisions of the ten *maṇḍalas* of the *Rigvedasaṃhitā*

and must have been fixed before the Jaina sūtras at a time when this division of the *Rigvedasamhitā* was felt as recent (p. 9).

I

Venkatasubbiah gives ten lists of *kalās*, which, however, are not arranged chronologically. The first is taken from the *Samavāyasūtra*, which was composed before 300 B.C. (Jacobi, SBE. xxii, p. xl). The list, as it is given by Weber, *Indische Studien*, 16, pp. 401 ff., contains eighty-seven items, and in the Berliner *Verzeichniss*, ii, 409 ff., even ninety-five, but this is a mistake, as Nos. 44-7 and 66-7 are missing in the latter. Three similar lists are given in the *Nāyādhammakahā* (ed. Steinthal, Leipzig, 1901), p. 29, in the *Aupapātikaṃ* (ed. Leumann, Leipzig, 1881), p. 77, and in the *Rājapraçñīyaṃ* (Calcutta edition, Samvat, 1933), p. 290; but they contain only seventy-two items, leaving some of the items given in the *Samavāya* list and adding a few fresh ones.

Some remarks may be inserted here in addition to those given in the dissertation, pp. 9-18.

Ad i, 3: rūvaṇ = rūpaṇ, "sculpture, painting, cutting forms in cloth, gold, wood," etc. Bühler, in p. 5 of his *Indische Palaeographie* (Grundriss), says that the word *rūpa* is used in the sense of "applied arithmetic", i.e. of the reckoning of money, interests, and debts, as well as that of elementary mensuration.

Ad i, 66: hiraṇṇavāda (v.l. *hiraṇṇapāga*) in the *Samavāya* list, and *hiraṇṇajutti* in the *Nāyādhammakahā* list. The word *hiraṇṇa* has been translated by Hoernle in the *Uvāsagadasāo* by the term "unwrought gold", chiefly relying on the authority of the Gujarathi paraphrase of Megharāja. But the same Megharāja explains the term *hiraṇṇa* in the *Samavāyasūtra* by "silver".

Ad i, 79: vaṭṭakheḍḍa. Morris in his note on the Pāli word *aṅgulaka* (Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1885,

p. 50) says that both these words refer to an old game of whirligigs.

II

The second list is that of the *Lalitavistara* (Calcutta edition), p. 178. The date of the *Lalitavistara* being very uncertain, we can only say that this list is younger than No. I. It contains eighty-six items, most of which correspond with items in the synonymic dictionary *Mahāvvyutpatti* (especially §§ 216, 217, and 245).

The translation, as given by Venkatasubbiah, does not agree throughout with that by Rājendralāla Mitra (*Lalitavistara*, pp. 213 f.). We will mention here a few points.

No. 25. *akṣhuṇṇavedhitvaṃ*. Venk. "art of throwing a spear so as to graze the mark". Mitra, "guessing." The parallel passage, *Jāt.* v, 129. 17. 26, is translated by Francis "men who pierce like lightning" (v, 67). Kern has "target cleaving" (*Bodhicaryāvatāra* comm., ed. Poussin, p. 124 note). Both translators are in favour of Venk.

No. 26. *marmavedhitva*. Venk. has "shooting so as to hit the vital parts". Mitra, "divining other's thoughts". The first rendering is supported by the substantive *amarmavedhitā*, Hemacandra, 69 (translated "Schonung" by Böhtlingk).

No. 27. *ṣabdavedhitvam*. Venk. "shooting an arrow correctly at any invisible person or beast by the sole clue of the sound produced by them". Mitra, "explaining enigmas." The translation of the parallel passage, *Jāt.* v, 129, "men who are able to shoot at a sound (without seeing)," agrees with Venk. Cf. also *Mahāvastu*, ii, 213.5, and Senart's note.

No. 57. *miçritalakṣhaṇam*. Venk., following Foucaux, corrects *menṭhalakṣhaṇam*, and translates "marks of rams". Mitra, "marks of eunuchs."

No. 58. *kaiṭabheçvaralakṣaṇam*. Venk. quotes Monier-Williams' translation, "a kind of script," which seems to be guesswork. Mitra, "demonology." This translation seems to be preferable.

No. 74. *veçikam*. Venk. translates "the *veçika* philosophy", and quotes passages from the *Nandīsūtra* (p. 391) and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* (p. 92). Mitra, "dress." The St. Petersburg dictionary wants to make out that it is a mistake for *vaiçikam*, "harlotry," but this is certainly wrong. If it really is a mistake for *vaiçikam*, then it must be the *vaiçikam* in *Mahāvvyutp.* 216. 2, which is a synonym of *vārttā*, "profession of a vaiçya" (= agriculture, breeding of cattle, etc.).¹ But it may also be a philosophical *terminus technicus*, and then it would agree with *kāvilam*, *logāyatam*, *saṭṭhitantam* in the Jaina texts. In this case the translation of Venk. would be correct.

III

The third list is given in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 32, 33, and, with slight variations, in the commentaries of Ćrīdhara Jīvagosvāmin, Vallabhācārya, and Ćukadeva on *Bhāgavata*, x, 45. 36. According to Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, p. 11, Vātsyāyana belongs to the first centuries of the Christian era, but it is impossible as yet to determine his date exactly. The list contains sixty-four items (see above, p. 357). The interpretations in Venkatasubbiah's dissertation follow those given by Yaçodhara in his commentary *Jayamangala* on the *Kāmasūtra*.

In the present additions we have made use besides of the following commentaries:—

- (1) Giridharji (Giri) in his edition of the *Bhāgavata*.
- (2) Bhāskara Nṛsiṃha (Bhās.), the scholiast of the

¹ Jacobi, "Kultur Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches aus dem Kauṭīliya" in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1911, p. 956.

Kāmasūtra, as represented in a manuscript copy of his scholium (MS. of the Mysore Oriental Library).

(3) Kācīnātha's abridgment of Sadānanda's *Toshinī*, commentary on the *Bhāgavata* (K.S.).

(4) Rājendralāla Mitra's translation and reading of List III, which he has given in pp. 186–7 of his translation of the *Lalitavistara* (Mitra).

No. 5. *viśeshakacchedyaṃ*, "cleverness in making marks on the forehead" (Giri) or "tattooing" (Mitra).

No. 6. *tanḍulakusumabalivikārāḥ*, "the making of different kinds of ear-ornaments" (Bhās.).

No. 9. *maṇibhūmikākarma*, "the making of dolls" (Bhās.). Mitra's translation "setting jewels" seems preferable.

No. 12. *udakaghātaḥ*, "striking water so as to make it go in different ways (downwards, upwards, and contrariwise)" (Val. and Çuka.). Jīva. and K.S. explain this term by *jalastambha* (suspending the properties of water).

No. 13. *citrāṇ ca yogāḥ*, "means or methods of producing all sorts of wonders" (Val. and Jīva.), "pictorial art" (Bhās. and Mitra). Both translations are equally good. Cf. *citrayogaḥ* (*Vyutp.* 223. 95).

No. 16. *nepathyaprayogāḥ*, "skill in dressing" (Bhās. Yaçodhara), "scenic representation" (Mitra). The first translation is supported by Böhtlingk's rendering (Putz), Hemac. 635. Cf. *nepaccaṃ* (*Vyutp.* 281. 100).

No. 22. *hastalāghavaṃ*, "readiness of hand" (Jīva and Giri). Bhās. explains it as "stealing things under the very eyes of the owners". I prefer the first translation.

No. 26. *sūtrakrīḍā*, "making dolls and figures, etc., move by pulling strings" (Jīva., Giri, Bhās.), "embroidering, knitting of figures with string" (K.S.), "making artificial flowers with thread" (Mitra). It is difficult to decide which is the best of these translations.

No. 29. *pratimālā*, "making replicas of all things" (Jīva.), "making substitutes of all things" (Val. and Giri),

“assumption of various forms” (Bhās.), “making images” (K.S. and Mitra). Wilson’s dictionary has “an exercise analogous to capping verses, reciting verse for verse, as a trial of memory”. With regard to the following item, I consider this the best rendering.

No. 30. *durvacakayogāḥ*, “means of expressing ideas which cannot be expressed” (Jiva., Giri, K.S.), “writing in cipher” (Bhās.), “mimicry” (Mitra). I prefer the first of these translations.

No. 35. *takshakarmāṇi*, v.l. *tarkakarmāṇi* and *tarkukarmāṇi*. Most probably the reading *takshakarmāṇi* is wrong, as No. 36 is *takshaṇam*, and it is not likely that two items following each other should contain the same word. Giri, Çuka, and Val. read *tarkakarmāṇi*, and translate “the knowing of all things as well as making all things by means of logic”. Jīva., Bhās., and Mitra read *tarkukarmāṇi*, and translate “making thread or yarn of cotton by means of a spindle or distaff”. The context is in favour of the second reading and translation.

No. 44. *utsādane saṁvāhane keçamardane ca kauçalam*. Jīva. and Giri explain *utsādanam* as “the separation of enemies by sowing suspicion in their minds by means of charms”. We stick to the explanation as given by Venk., “proficiency in massaging, shampooing, and anointing (the hair.” Cf. Hemacandra, 635.¹

No. 48. *pushpaçakatīkā* is explained by Giri as “making carts, *vimānas*, etc., of flowers”. Jīva. and K.S. explain it as “knowledge of omens by means of the *pushpaçakatīkāvidyā*”. This latter meaning seems preferable.

No. 50. *yantramātrikā*, and No. 51, *dhāraṇamātrikā*, are considered as one term by Çrī., Giri, and Val., and explained as “making *yantras*, or metallic plates engraved with characters for worshipping”. Bhās. explains it

¹ The Çabdakalpadrūma reads *keçamārjanakauçalam*. *Keçamārjana* is “a comb”. Hemac. 688.

as "the means for floating on the air", and Mitra as "exercises in enigmatic poetry". I prefer the first of these explanations.

No. 52. *sampāthyam*, in Çrī., Jīva., Çuka., Val., and Giri, *saṃvācyam* in Bhās. Jīva. translates his reading "the lapidary art, i.e. the sawing of hard substances like diamonds, etc." Bhās. explains his reading as *samyag jñānam*, i.e. "knowing well". Jīva.'s translation is certainly to be rejected, even if we adopt his reading. The best translation which suits both readings is "the art of conversation" in the commentary to the *Bhāgavata*, 10. 45. 36.

No. 53. *mānasī*, "knowing what passes in other minds" (Jīva., K.S., and Bhās.). Molesworth, following Çrī., Çuka., Giri, and Val., takes 53 and 54 as one term, *mānasī kāvyakriyā*, and translates "poetic creation and invention". We prefer this reading and translation.

No. 56. *kriyākalpaḥ*, v.l. *kriyāvikalpāḥ* (Çrī., Jīva., Val., Giri, Bhās.), "disregarding the usual way of doing things, and doing those things in other ways." Max Müller, *India what can it teach us?* p. 363, suggests that this may be meant for Jaiminīya.

No. 58. *vastragopanāni* (Jīva., Giri, K.S., and Mitra), "changing the appearance of fabrics, such as making cotton cloth appear like silk." Bhās. has the v.l. *vastugopanāni*, and explains it as "cleverness in concealing things which are in close proximity".

No. 60. *ākarshakrīḍā*. This is most probably identical with *ākarshaṇam*, "an art by means of which one person compels another to come to him." Cf. List VII, 32, and *Vyutp.* 197. 25; Weber, *Berliner Verz.*, i, 270.

No. 62. *vainayikīnām vidyānām jñānam*, "the means which take us to our destination quickly," as *jalaplavana* (vii, 37), *pādukāsiddhi* (vii, 38), etc. (Bhās.).

No. 63. *vaijayikīnām vidyānām jñānam*, "the means of obtaining victory," as *ghaṭikāsiddhi* (vii, 40), etc. (Bhās.).

No. 64. *vyāyāmikīnām vidyānām jñānam*, "knowledge of the sciences connected with physical exercise." Çrī and Çuka. have the v.l. *vaitālikīnām*, "sciences of a bard or panegyrist." Cf. *Mahāvastu*, iii, 113. 2.

IV

The fourth list is given in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, p. 75. This is the shortest, containing only forty-eight items. Most of them are contained in one or two of the preceding lists. Only a few new ones are added, namely (3) *pramāṇam*, "the system of pūrvamimāṃsa propounded by Jaimini."

No. 4. *dharmācāstram*, "treatises on law."

No. 15. *turagavayojñānam*, "judging of the age of horses."

No. 19. *pustakavyāpāras*, "handling of books, i.e. reading the ṣastras."

No. 22. *gandharvaṣāstrāṇi*, "sciences of Gandharvas," i.e. singing, etc.

No. 29. *āyurvedaḥ*, "the science of medicine."

No. 32. *suruṅgopabhedas*, "tunnelling."

No. 37. *ratiratnāṇi*, "book on erotics."

No. 46. *sarvasaṅjñāḥ*, "all names." This remains doubtful.

No. 47. *sarvaṣilpāṇi*, "all technical arts." Cf. *ṣilpādhyāyaḥ* (*Vyutp.* 221. 10).

V

The fifth list (Pañcāla's) seems to be very old, as, according to tradition, it was composed before the Jainā sūtras, and at a time when the division of the *Ṛiksamhitā* into sixty-four chapters was felt as recent. This list is given and explained in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 96–176, under ten headings. As all these terms are intimately connected with erotics, they are not translated by Venkatasubbiah.

VI

The sixth list is considerably younger. It is given by Yaçodhara in his commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 31. To judge from the extracts and quotations given by Yaçodhara, he must have lived in the eighth century A.D. Most of the items given in this list correspond with those in Lists I–IV. There are, however, some new ones.

No. 13. *raṅgaparijñānam*, “knowledge of the stage.”

No. 18. *māyākṛitaṃ pāśaṇḍasamayajñānam*, “knowledge of the tenets of heretical systems, which are produced by illusion.”

No. 20. *lokaññānam*, “knowledge of the world.”

No. 21. *vaicakṣaṇyaṃ*, “cleverness.”

VII

This list is given in Rāmacandra's commentary on the first verse in Lakṣmaṇakavi's continuation of the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* by Vidarbharāja. It is given in the form of nine anushtubh verses, and consists of sixty-four items. A large number of the *kalās* in this list are concerned with occult arts and alchemy. I shall only mention some of them which are particularly interesting.

No. 14. *sāmudrikam*, “the science of finding out a person's fortune by the lines of his hands, feet, and body; chiromancy.” This word must be derived from *mudrā*, not from *samudra*. Cf. *sāmudralakṣaṇaṃ* (*Vyutp.* 221. 14).

No. 23. *khanyāvādaḥ*, “location and acquirement of buried treasure.” Cf. *khanyavādī* (*Vyutp.* 186. 83).

No. 31. *vaçyam*, “an art by means of which one person can bring another completely under his influence.” Cf. *sarvavaçyam* (Weber, *Verz.* i, 270).

No. 32. *ākaraṣaṇaṃ*, “an art by which one person compels another to come to him.” Cf. *Vyutp.* 197. 25, and Weber, *Verz.* i, 270.

No. 33. *vidveshaṇam*, “an art by which one person is made to hate another” (Weber, *Verz.* i, 271).

No. 34. *uccāṭanam*, “driving away a person from any locality.” Cf. *Vyutp.* 197. 28, and Weber, i, 270.

No. 35. *māraṇam*, “killing by means of black art” (Weber, i, 270).

Kalās 26–35 are technically known as *śaṭkarma*. Cf. Oxford Cat. 100a, 38 : *ṣāntir vaçyaṁ stambhanañ ca dvesham uccāṭamarane*.

No. 38. *pāḍukāsiddhi*, “an occult art by means of which one can transport oneself instantly to any desired place.” Cf. Oxford Cat. 99a, 109a, and *pāḍukāsādhana*, Weber, i, 270 ; Wassiljew, 191–6.

No. 39. *mṛtsiddhi*, “an art by means of which a person can produce anything he likes out of clay.”

No. 40. *ghaṭikāsiddhi*. Most probably this is a mistake for *guṭikās*°, “success in pills by means of which one can produce all sorts of wonders.” Cf. Oxford Cat. 99a, 9 ; 109a, 8, f. 6.

No. 45. *maṇisiddhi*, “success in precious stones.”

No. 46. *mantrasiddhi*, “success in mantras.” Cf. Oxford Cat. 94a, 20.

No. 47. *aushadhasiddhi*, “success in drugs and medicines.”

In the variant of this list given in the *Īvatantra-ratnākara*, Nos. 46 and 47 form one item—*mantraushadhasiddhi*. In order to fill up the gap a new item, *vāksiddhi*, “success in speech,” is introduced. Cf. *vāksiddha* (*Pañcar.* ii, 8. 4).

Tāranātha in his *History of Buddhism*, translated by Schiefner, p. 74, mentions eight *siddhis*, of which the *guṭikāsiddhi* is the first. The other seven are given in the note to this passage on p. 304. In the same note Wassiljew tells us that there are other *siddhis* besides the eight mentioned above, viz. *pāḍukāsiddhi*, etc. An accurate description of the *siddhis* is also

given in Wassiljew's *Buddhism* (St. Petersburg, 1860), pp. 191–6.

Jacobi, in his translation of Umāsvati's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* (*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, 60, p. 544), tells us that the commentary to this sūtra gives a detailed list of all the *siddhis* according to the Jaina doctrine. Evidently there must be a larger number than those mentioned by Tāranātha and Wassiljew.



XIII

THE NAME KUSHAN

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

IN a paper at p. 79 above, it is sought to show that the name of the race to which Kanishka and his connections belonged was Kuśa or Kusha; not Kushan or Kushān, as is believed at present. I would invite closer attention to some of the evidence, which hardly seems to bear out such a view: other parts of it are being dealt with by Mr. Allan.¹

In the accompanying plate, the coins are figured from casts which Mr. Allan has kindly supplied: the Māt inscription is illustrated from an inked squeeze for which I am indebted to Dr. Vogel: the Panjtār inscription is reproduced from General Sir A. Cunningham's original figuring of it: the word *Gushana* in the Mānikīāla inscription is reproduced from the facsimile given with M. Senart's paper on the record. Mr. Cousens has been so kind as to make the photographs from which the plate has been put together.

The Māt inscription

As a result of the Kharōshthī alphabet not marking long vowels,² and of the Greek alphabet not distinguishing between *α* and *ᾱ*, there has been a doubt as to the quantity of the vowel in the second syllable of the name: some writers have used the form Kushān; others of us have preferred Kushan; others have used Kuśana, Kushana. The doubt has now been removed, and the Indianized form of the name has been shown, by the inscription, mentioned in footnotes on pp. 80, 87, above,

¹ See farther on in this number of the Journal.

² At any rate, as we have this alphabet in inscriptions and on coins.

which was discovered in 1911-12 by Pandit Radha Krishna at Māt near Mathurā.¹

The inscription consists of four lines, in the Mixed Dialect and Brāhmī characters, on the pedestal of a colossal figure of a Kushān king seated on his throne, and registers the building of a temple with a cloister, a reservoir, and a well. It is not dated; and the king's name is illegible: all that can be said is that it is not a name already known to us, and that the record seems to belong to a period later than the time of Vāsudēva. The king's titles, however, are quite clear; the words are Mah[ā]rājo, Rājātirājo, D[ē]vaputro, and—

Kushāṇa-putr[o]:

“son or descendant of the Kushāṇas.”

In the form *Kushāṇa* thus given, three points for comment present themselves. In the first place, if the name had a long *ū* in the first syllable at that time, the writer of this record, using the quite precise Brāhmī alphabet, would have had no difficulty in presenting the name accordingly. But he has given the short *u*.² And this is borne out by the Greek transliterations, in which we always have *o* = *u*; not *ou* = *ū*. We may take it, then, that the long *ū* which we have in the expressions *Kūśān śāh* and *Kūśān śāhān śāh*, traceable elsewhere from about A.D. 300 (see p. 79 above), is a later development.

Secondly; in the second syllable the long *ā* attached to the *sh* is unmistakable.

Thirdly; in respect of the third syllable it may be noted first, as regards something which has been said in note 1 on p. 87 above, that there is distinctly not a subscript *u*: the plate, indeed, shows below the *ṇ* some small

¹ See the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31 March, 1912, p. 2, para. 5.

² The vowel is somewhat blurred, owing to damage to the stone: but it is distinctly recognizable as the short one.

detached marks which an enthusiast might claim to be remnants of an obliterated *u*; but the back of the squeeze makes it absolutely certain that they are only due to damage to the surface of the stone, and that a subscript *u* was not contemplated. The vowel, therefore, is *a*. The consonant is distinctly the cerebral *ṇ*. This, in an Indian record, is the natural result of the preceding *sh*, which must turn a dental *n* into *ṇ*: it does not bind us to accept the same nasal as belonging to the word in its native form. It is to be added that we cannot find an *anusvāra* and read *Kushāṇam*, and still less *Kushāṇām*:¹ the word is nothing but the base *Kushāṇa*, in composition with *putro*, just like *dēva* in *dēvaputro*.

This record, therefore, presents the name as *Kushāṇa*, in three syllables. The final *a*, however, again, would be a natural Indian feature, for purposes of declension: and the Chinese *Kuei-shuang* and the Tibetan *Gu-zan* (see p. 381 below) mark the name as being in its native form dissyllabic, and as ending with a nasal the nature of which is not exactly determinable: and the later form *Kūśān* is itself in agreement with this. Accordingly, we may take this Indianized Brāhmī form as representing an original *Kushān*, and may now agree to adopt the form *Kushān*, with the long *ā*, for all general purposes.

It may be added here that the Kharōshthī alphabet does not always, if indeed ever, distinguish clearly between the cerebral *ṇ* and the dental *n*. But the dialect recognized both these nasals. And, in view of the clear spelling *Kushāṇa* which we have in this Brāhmī record from Māt, I think we must take it that the Kharōshthī presentations of the name, whether in inscriptions or on coins, always intend the cerebral *ṇ*, even if they do not mark it distinctly; just as much as they imply, though they do not show it, the long *ā* in the preceding syllable.

¹ The marks above the *ṇa* are only due to damage to the stone; compare similar marks in other places in this record.

The Panjtār inscription

This is a Kharōshthī record from the Yūsufzai country, on the banks of the Indus: it seems to have been actually found at a place named Salimpūr, near Panjtār; but it has come to be known as the Panjtār inscription. The original stone being now not forthcoming, we are dependent on the two figurings of the record given by Cunningham in JASB, vol. 23 (1854), plate at p. 705, and *Reports*, vol. 5 (1875), plate 16, No. 4. A reference is made to this record in note 1 on p. 81 above, but in a way which hardly does justice to it; as the result, apparently, of the writer not knowing the earlier figuring of it, reproduced herewith.

The important part of the record is line 1, which gives the dating: this begins —

Sam 100 20 2 Śravaṇasa masasa di prathamē 1.

Then comes the word *maharayasa*. This is followed by *Gushanasa*. And there comes next, at the end of the line, a word of three syllables: here, the first two syllables are unmistakably *raja*; and the original figuring makes it a moral certainty that the third, which is damaged, was *mi*, giving the quite natural and appropriate word *rajami*. Accordingly we have—

maharayasa Gushanasa rajami.

In the reference to this record, the suggestion is implied that we might perhaps find in *Gushanasa* an equivalent of the expression *Kūṣān śāh*, mentioned above (p. 370). To apply the word in that way, however, we must take it as a base in composition with *rajami*. But the words *maharayasa* and *rajami* prevent that. *Gushanasa* cannot be accepted as anything but the genitive singular of *Gushana*, in apposition with the genitive singular *maharayasa* and dependent on the locative *rajami*. And thus line 1 says:—

“The year 122, the first day, 1, of the month Śrāvaṇa, in the reign of the great king the Gushāna.”

The Māṇikiāla inscription

This inscription, to which reference has been made in the note on p. 80 above and on p. 84, is another Kharōshthī record, from the Rāwal Piṇḍī District: it has been edited by M. Senart, with a facsimile, in JA, 1896, i, p. 8, and by Professor Lüders in JRAS, 1909, p. 666.

In the opening passage of this record we have the expression—

Gushāṇa-vaśa-saṁvardhaka :

“an increaser of the Gushāṇa race.”¹

The first term presents matter for comment. And in the first place I would observe, in passing, that the use of *g* instead of *k* in the first syllable seems to connect this record in time with the Panjtār inscription, and so to give another reason for looking on it as a somewhat late record: for other remarks on the point of date see JRAS, 1913, p. 105.

But the syllable in which we are interested here is the third, which both M. Senart and Professor Lüders have read as *na*, with the dental *n* and the inherent vowel *a*.

As regards the consonant, I think that, for a reason stated on p. 371 above, we must take it as the cerebral *ṇ*.

As regards its vowel, the position is as follows. The vertical stem of the *ṇ* has at the bottom a strong turn to the left. No special value was attached to this feature by M. Senart and Professor Lüders: both of them read the syllable as *na*. It has, however, now been proposed, on p. 84 above,² to take this detail as meaning the vowel

¹ For the general bearing of this expression compare *Aṁgiya-kula-radhana*, “an increaser of the Aṁgiya family,” in the Nānā Ghāt inscription, ASWI, vol. 5, p. 60, line 3. I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for reminding me of this.

² The turn to the left is there spoken of as a “hook”: but it does not amount to that, being not in any way curved or bent upwards. The mark which M. Senart (loc. cit., pp. 10–11) dismissed, along with some more or less similar marks attending other letters, as being either a carelessness of the engraver or an accidental mark on the stone, is not this turn to the left, but is the less well defined wedge-shaped mark,

u, and so to find here the form *Gushanu*, = *Gushānu*, and to treat it as the genitive plural of *Gusha*, = *Kusha*. But, even apart from the point that the language of the record requires not a genitive but a base in composition with the following term *vaśa*, an inspection of the *u* of *gu*, —with which we may compare also the clear and certain *u* in *budhēhi* and *budhilēna* farther on, in this same record,— will show at once that we have no *u* in this syllable: to express that, the turn to the left at the bottom of the vertical stem of the letter would have been continued up and back in a loop to the right to meet the vertical again.¹ We cannot hesitate to agree with M. Senart and Professor Lüders that the vowel of this syllable is *a*; and so we have the name here as *Gushana*, = *Gushāna*. The turn to the left at the bottom of the vertical stroke is nothing but a slight exaggeration of the slope to the left with which the Kharōshthī *u* often ends, and is quite in agreement with the general sloping character of the writing of this record. It may be noted that the *sha* also is formed here somewhat exceptionally, in respect of the turn to the left and the bend downwards at the bottom of the vertical stem.

The Shaonano shao coin-legend

The obverses of the coins of Kanishka, other than those which have a Greek legend in uncial letters, give two legends in cursive Greek letters. One legend,

point downwards, which runs on in continuation of the vertical stem from the point where the turn to the left begins. Professor Lüders, also, attached no value to this mark. It is due, in my opinion, to the surface of the stone splintering and flaking off before the push of the engraving tool. There are marks of the same class, coming down from the line above, over the *sha*: and there is something of the same kind on the left of the *u* of the *gu*.

¹ See also the *u* of *gushanasa* in the Panjtār inscription: the earlier figuring, reproduced in the accompanying plate, shows the loop not made completely: the later figuring shows a complete loop, and is perhaps more correct in this detail; but either form is admissible.

apparently found on only the copper coins, is a quite short one:—

Shao Kanēshki:
“King Kanishka.”

The other legend, apparently confined to the gold coins, is read and understood thus:—

Shaonano shao Kanēshki Koshano:
“King of kings, Kanishka, the Kushān.”

This latter legend is also found on the coins of Huvishka and Vāsudēva, both gold and copper, with only the difference in the proper name. As regards the names, it may be noted that in the case of Vāsudēva the word is presented sometimes as *Bazodēo*, quite correctly, and sometimes as *Bazoaēo*, with the mistake of *a* for *d*, and sometimes there are other corruptions: in the other cases we have the forms *Kanēshki* and *Kanēshko*, and *Ooēshki*, *Ooēshko*, *Ooēshke*, and *Ouoēshki*.

The proposal has now been made, on p. 83, to take this legend as beginning (or ending) with the proper name, so as to place *Koshano*, in either case, before *shaonano*, and to treat the word, not as a nominative singular in apposition with the proper name, but as a genitive plural dependent on *shaonano shao*, and thus to find here the equivalent of the expression *Kūśān śāhān śāh*, mentioned above (p. 370). An examination of the coins, however, will soon show that any such alteration of the order of the words of the legend cannot be admitted.

The legend runs round the edge of the coins: and there are two arrangements of it, A and B. In A, which is by far the more common one, the legend begins at the bottom of the coin: in B it begins at the top.¹ Some clear typical instances are as follows:—

¹ This arrangement, B, which seems to have become the prevailing one with the Later Kushāns, is in fact very rare among the earlier coins. There, in addition to B, 1, I find it only on (1) gold coins of Kanishka, in Gardner, plate 26, figs. 16, 17, 18; but the last of these probably

A, 1: a gold coin of Kanishka: Gardner, *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 132, No. 27.¹ The word *shaonano* begins down on the left, beside the king's right foot, below the altar: and *Koshano* ends on the right, with the final *o* close to the left foot.

A, 2: a gold coin of Huvishka: Gardner, plate 27, fig. 16. *Shaonano* begins down below, as in A, 1, on the left of the clouds from which the upper part of the king emerges: and *Koshano* ends on the right of them.

A, 3: a gold coin of Vāsudēva: Gardner, plate 29, fig. 10. *Shaonano* begins, again, as in A, 1 and 2, down below, on the left, beside the altar: and *Koshano* ends on the right, close to the king's left foot.

B, 1: a gold coin of Kanishka: Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 17, fig. 12. *Shaonano* begins up on the right, behind the king's helmet: and *Koshano* ends up on the left, in front of the helmet.

B, 2: a gold coin bearing the name and legend of Kanishka but not belonging to the original king of this name: Cunningham, plate 17, fig. 8.² *Shaonano* begins here, again, up on the right, beside the top of the spear in the king's left hand: and *Koshano* ends up on the left, over the front of the nimbus.

Thus, the words *Koshano* and *shaonano* are regularly separated by substantial parts of the general design of

belongs to the later series: also Cunningham, plate 16, fig. 8 (his fig. 13 = Gardner, fig. 16): (2) copper coins of Huvishka, in Gardner, plate 29, figs. 2, 4, and Cunningham, plate 19, figs. E, F: (3) coins bearing the name of Vāsudēva; gold, in Cunningham, plate 24, figs. C, D, and 12 (legends very corrupt, and probably Later Kushān); copper, *ibid.*, fig. 10.

¹ This has been figured in preference to Gardner's plate 27, fig. 7, because there is a doubt as to the genuineness of the latter coin.

² In the right field there is the Brāhmī syllable *pa*; and for this and other reasons the coin is assigned to one of the Later Kushāns, the first successors of the Kanishka—Vāsudēva group: see Cunningham in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. 13 (1893), pp. 115, 119; the coin is figured again there in plate 8, fig. 1. I am indebted to Mr. Allan for drawing my attention to this disposal of the coin.

the obverse.¹ And any such separation of the other complete words of the legend is very rare: in fact, the published obverses do not give any instance of separation between the proper name and *Koshano*, whether by part of the general design or even by a blank space; and only two cases can be cited in which there happens to be a separation between *shaonano shao* and the proper name.² On the other hand, the proper name of the king is almost always divided, and so is subjected to a treatment which could never be given to the first word of a legend. This happens not to be the case in B, 1, where enough margin was made to carry the legend round unbroken. But in A, 1 *Kanēshki* is divided by the king's helmet and the top of the spear between *a* and *n*: in A, 2 *Ooēshki* is divided by the helmet after the first *o*: in A, 3 *Bazoaēo* (for *Bazodēo*) is divided by the diadem and the top of the spear between *a* and *z*: and in B, 2 *Kanēshki* is divided between *a* and *n* by the king's feet and the altar.

¹ But it is said that every rule has its exceptions: and the remark applies here in a few cases. See, for instance, two gold coins of Vāsudēva: Cunningham, plate 24, figs. A and D. Here we have the usual standing king, with splayed feet and altar. The arrangement of the legend is that of class A above. *Shaonano* begins down on the left, beside the altar. The *n* of *Koshano* stands on the right, beside the king's left foot: but there was no room there for the final *o*; and it was inserted on the left, below the altar, beside the right foot.

See also two other gold coins of the same king: Gardner, plate 29, fig. 9; Cunningham, plate 24, fig. 3. The arrangement of the legend is the same. Here, again, the final *o* is on the left, below the altar, beside the king's right foot. The letters *oshan* are missing.

See also another gold coin of the same king: Cunningham, plate 24, fig. 4. The arrangement of the legend is again the same. The king's name is presented as *Bazoa*, with the mistake of *a* for *d*, and with omission of *ēo*. The final *o* of *Koshano* stands below the space between the king's feet.

Even in these instances, however, it is clear that the legend begins with *shaonano shao*.

² One case is the coin of Huvishka figured farther on, C, 2: here, something which projects from the top of the king's head-gear lies between *shao* and *Ooēshko*. The other is the coin of Vāsudēva mentioned last in the preceding note: here, again, there is a separation between *shao* and the proper name, due to the king's diadem.

In this way, the legend is marked distinctly as beginning always with *shaonano*. And *Koshano* stands in such a position that it is difficult to think of any rule for the order of words in a prose sentence according to which it can be a genitive dependent on the term *shaonano shao*, or even on the proper name.

The evidence, so far, both under this head and in the other lines, is all against the view which is put forward in the paper mentioned above. Now, however, we come to something, overlooked by the writer of the paper, which might certainly be held to bear it out, though not exactly in the form in which it is urged. We find it on two types of Huvishka, which belong to class A above, but add another word at the end of the legend.

C, 1: a gold coin of Huvishka: Gardner, plate 28, fig. 10. *Shaonano* begins down on the left, beside the clouds on which the king is seated. On the right, *Koshano* is followed by another *shao*, which ends on the right of the clouds.

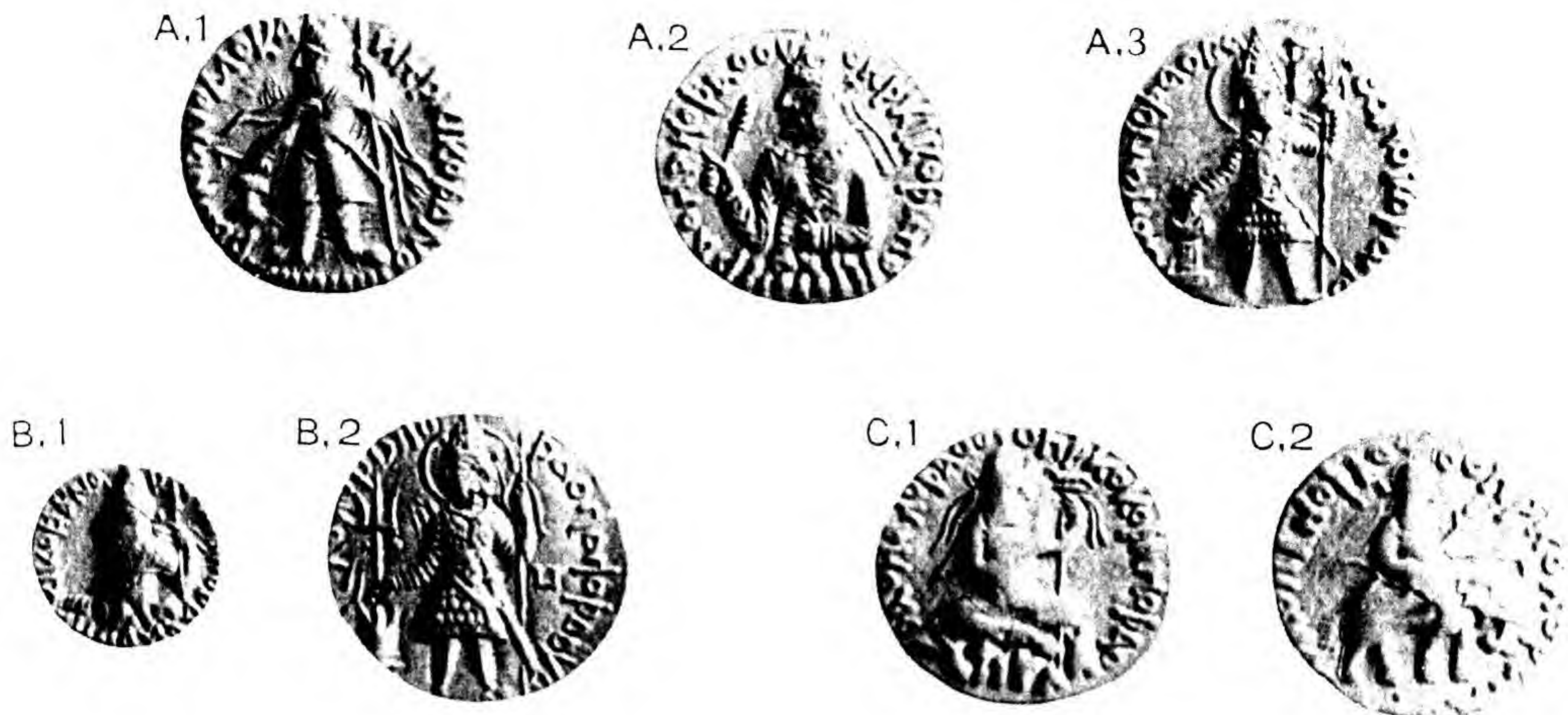
C, 2: a gold coin of Huvishka: Gardner, plate 27, fig. 12. Except for the separation of *shaonano shao* and *Ooēshko* by something which projects from the top of the king's head-gear (mentioned in note 2 on p. 377 above), the legend runs all round the coin. *Shaonano* begins down on the left, behind the elephant's right hind foot. *Koshano* ends at the bottom, below the animal's right fore foot, and is followed, as on C, 1, by another *shao*.¹

Thus, these two coins give the legend in the amplified form:—

Shaonano shao Ooēshko Koshano shao.

¹ This last word was overlooked by Gardner in this case: but Cunningham recognized it; and it is unmistakable. The bottom and part of the body of the *sh*, with part of the *a*, can be seen clearly below the two hind feet of the elephant. The final *o* perhaps fell outside the coin, along with the top parts of those two letters and of some others on both sides, or perhaps was inserted in miniature close behind the right hind foot.

The Shaonano shao coin-legend



From the Manikiala inscription



The Panjtar inscription: the year 122



The Mat inscription



Scale .25

Here, indeed, in *Koshano shao* we have an exact equivalent of *Kūśān śāh*. But we do not take either *Koshano* as a genitive plural dependent on *shao*, or *Kūśān* as a similar genitive dependent on *śāh*. Though *shaonano*, = *shāunānu*, is evidently a genitive plural and the case-ending seems to be *ano*, = *ānu*, and not *nano*, = *nānu*, still, even if that word is not a borrowed one but belongs to the same language with *Koshano*,¹ it can hardly follow that every word in that language ending in *ano*, *ānu*, must be a genitive plural. All the other evidence is in the direction of taking *Koshano*, *Kushānu*, as a nominative singular: and there cannot be any difficulty about treating it as such in this case also; regarding it here, however, as being in apposition with the following word *shao*, instead of with the proper name. We thus render this legend by:—

“King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushān king.”

On the same lines we render the later expressions *Kūśān śāh* and *Kūśān śāhān śāh* by “the Kūśān king: the Kūśān king of kings.”

General remarks

The ultimate basis of this new proposal about the name of the race is plainly as follows (see p. 86):—

1. The Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālamkāra* of *Aśvaghōsha* contains a passage which says:—“In the Kusha race there was a king named Kanishka.”²

2. In the Tibetan version of the *Mahārājakanikalēkha* of *Mātrichēṭa* there is an expression by which Kanika (Kanishka) is addressed as “born in the Kuśa race.”³

We are supposed to have thus a name which was written as Kusha or Kuśa, indifferently. It is claimed that we have on the coins, in the *Shaonano shao* legend,

¹ It seems to be admitted that this is a moot-point.

² JA, 1896, ii, p. 457: and see *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 385.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 356, verse 49.

the genitive plural of that same name in the form *Koshano*, = *Kushānu*. And it is proposed to find this genitive plural in at any rate one inscription, where we have been reading, and still can only recognize, the base *Gushana*, = *Gushāna*.

But the claim based on the coins falls to the ground at once: it necessitates taking the words of the legend in an order in which they were not intended to be taken. What we really have there is, not *Kush-ānu* as the genitive plural in *ānu* of a base *Kush*, *Kusha*, but *Kushān-u* as the nominative singular in *u* of a base *Kushān*: compare the forms *Kanēshko* = *Kanēshk-u*, and *Ooēshko* = *(H)uwēshk-u* (see p. 375 above).

As regards the expression in the Chinese translation of the Sūtra, M. Sylvain Lévi has suggested that it had its origin in the translator having read *Kushānām vaṁśē*, "in the race of the Kushas", by mistake for *Kushāna-vaṁśē*, "in the Kushāna race".¹ This explanation has been objected to in favour of regarding *Kuśa*, *Kusha*, as a shortened form of *Kushāna*.² And another view might be that the word *kuśa*, already well established in Sanskrit,³ would easily recommend itself as a substitute in Sanskrit writings for the foreign name. I venture to think, however, that M. Sylvain Lévi's explanation, which is now supported by the actual occurrence of the name as *Kushāna* in the Māt inscription, is the most likely one for the Sūtra; and that it ultimately accounts equally well for the expression in the Letter.

In any case, the Chinese translation and the Tibetan version seem to furnish poor grounds on which to rely against all the indications which are opposed to the proposition that the name was *Kusha* or *Kuśa*. And we

¹ JA, 1896, ii, p. 457, note: and see *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 386.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 348.

³ In ordinary use, as another term for the sacred *darbha*-grass; and as a proper name, in the case of a son of Rāma, and in various other instances.

have from both sources, Chinese and Tibetan, something which is much better than what is deducible from a translation and a version.

From the Chinese we have the transliterated form *Kuei-shuang*:¹ and in one of the Tibetan works dealing with Li-yul or Khotan we have the name *Gu-zan*, which can only be a transliteration of Gushān, Kushān:—
“The king Kanika and the king of Guzan and king Vijayakīrti, lord of Li, and others”²

These actual transliterations are much more to the point than translations and adapted versions. They indicate a word of two syllables, ending with a nasal, the nature of which is not exactly determinable. And the same is indicated by the nominative *Kushān-u*, which we have in the *Shaonano shao* coin-legend. From the Māt inscription we have the trisyllabic form *Kushāṇa*. This, however, is easily reducible, as stated above, to *Kushān*; in which shape it matches exactly the Chinese and Tibetan transliterations and the form given by the coins.

In these circumstances it cannot be held that a case has been made out for regarding the name of the race as being anything except Kushān.

¹ See the passage quoted on p. 80 above.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 349.

XIV

NOTES ON THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

By F. W. THOMAS

IN these notes I propose to deal as compendiously as possible with a number of points in the Edicts to which even after the publications of Kern, Senart, and Bühler more or less obscurity still attaches, or upon which additional light may be thrown by the aid of subsequent discoveries, such as that of the *Arthaśāstra* by Kauṭalya. However anxious we may be to avoid the fault of *punarukti*, it will be impossible in some cases not to recur to passages which have already been frequently discussed.

1. PRĀDEŚIKA

M. Senart, in his masterly account of Aśoka's administrative system, has followed Kern and Bühler in understanding (pp. 279–80) this official designation to denote local governors or local chiefs: "the ancestors of the Thākurs, Rāos, Rāwals, etc., of the present day" (ZDMG. xxxvii, 106); and Mr. Vincent Smith, whose excellent translations were published in 1909, understands by the term "District Officers" (p. 51). The word occurs only in the third Rock Edict, where the functionaries in question are included with the *Yuktas* (*Yutā*) and *Lājūkas* in the ordinance of the Quinquennial Circuit.¹ It will be admitted that this circumstance favours rather the view that royal officials rather than territorial nobles are mentioned.

The derivation of *Prādeśika* from *pradeśa*, in the sense of a division of a larger area, is, of course, flawless. Nevertheless, if the word had been employed substantively

¹ *Savate vijite mama yutā ca rājūke ca prādesike ca paṃcasu paṃcasu vāsesu anusamyānaṃ niyātu* (Girnar version; all the others seem to omit the first *ca*).

to denote a grade in the administrative hierarchy, we should have expected to find more evidence of the fact. As it is, we seem to have only one passage where the form occurs in substantive¹ use, the *Kauśika-Sūtra* (§§ 94, 120, 126) grouping together the terms *brāhmaṇa*, *vaiśya*, *prādeśika*, *rājan*; and this is obscure (the word apparently denoting local rulers of the place in question) and certainly less than is required.

On the other hand, we have excellent testimony to the employment of a rather similar term *pradeśṭṛ* to designate certain officers having fairly well-defined functions. The *pradeśṭṛ* is mentioned in a list of ministers occurring in the *Tantrākhyāyika* (p. 109, l. 2 of Dr. Hertel's edition); it is found in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, where the interpretation given by Böhtlingk & Roth (no doubt from the Tibetan version, which I have been unable to consult) is "judge"; and the *Mahābhārata* has it in a list to be found in ii, 5, 38.² All these sources depend, no doubt, upon the *Arthaśāstra*, which in the work ascribed to Kauṭalya supplies rather more explicit information. The passages which I have noted (in addition to the list of officials on p. 20) are the following:—

p. 142. *gopasthānikasthāneṣu pradeṣṭāraḥ kāryakaraṇaṃ balipragrahaṃ ca kuryuḥ.*

"In the stations of the *Sthānika* and *Gopa*³ the *Pradeṣṭṛs* are to execute orders and attend to the collection of taxes."

p. 200. *pradeṣṭāras trayo vā 'mātyāḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanaṃ kuryuḥ.*

"The *Pradeṣṭṛs*, or three councillors, are to attend to the suppression of offenders."

¹ As an adjective joined to *rājan*, *īśvara*, in the sense of a local king, it occurs in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, iv, 126; cf. *Vinaya-piṭaka*, iii, p. 47 (= *Pārājika*, ii, 3), *rājāno nāma paṭhavyā rājā padesarājā*, etc.

² Quoted by E. W. Hopkins, JAOS. xiii, p. 129, note.

³ Heads respectively of a *Sthānīya*, "Thānā," and of a group of five or ten villages.

p. 209. *dharmasthaṃ pradeṣṭāraṃ vā viśvāśopagataṃ sattrī brūyāt.*

“A spy should say privately to a judge or a *Pradeṣṭṛ* [or ‘a judging *Pradeṣṭṛ*’].”

p. 215. *sagopasthāniko bāhyaṃ pradeṣṭā coramārgaṇaṃ kuryāt . . .*

“In the country districts the *Pradeṣṭṛ* along with the *Sthānika* and *Gopa* should attend to the tracking of thieves.”

p. 220. *samāhartṛpradeṣṭāraḥ pūrvam adhyakṣāṇām adhyakṣapuruṣāṇām ca niyamanaṃ kuryuḥ.*

“In the first instance the *Samāhartṛ* and the *Pradeṣṭṛs* should hold in check the superintendents and their subordinates.”

p. 223. *dharmasthaḥ pradeṣṭā vā hairaṇyaṃ adaṇḍyaṃ kṣipati kṣepadvigaṇaṃ asmai daṇḍaṃ kuryāt.*

“If a judge or *Pradeṣṭṛ* [or ‘a judging *Pradeṣṭṛ*’] inflicts an unmerited fine in gold, he shall be mulcted in double the amount of the fine.”

p. 226. *uttamāparamadhyatvaṃ pradeṣṭā daṇḍakarmani . . . kalpayet.*

“The *Pradeṣṭṛ* should in punishments distinguish highest, lowest, and middle.”

These passages are sufficient to prove that the *Pradeṣṭṛ* was an officer attached to the several grades of councillors and of local governors, and charged with executive duties of revenue collection and police, a combination so constant in India. No doubt they were all subject to the orders of a chief having the same title, the *Pradeṣṭṛ* who is named as a member of the royal ministry.

It will be conceded that officials having duties so defined would be appropriately mentioned by Aśoka as accompanying the *Lājūkas* and their suites in the quinquennial circuits. But, no doubt, the linguistic form which he employs calls for some justification. That *deśika* would be a probable equivalent for *deṣṭṛ* needs no

demonstration: the two suffixes are commonly associated as equivalents (e.g. in *Pāṇini*, ii, 2, 15, *trjakābhyām kartari*). The long vowel in the first syllable of *Prādeśika* might be explained, like that in *vānaprastha*, as occasioned by the technical application of the term: or we might suppose that the modification in form is due to the intrusion of the preposition *ā* (as in *ādeśa*, “command”) without affecting the equivalence in sense.

This proposed explanation is dependent upon the generally accepted interpretation of *Rājūka* as derived from *rajju* and meaning some kind of high official. If, after all—which is so improbable as to be practically impossible (see Bühler’s article in ZDMG. xlvii, 466–71)—the word should prove to be derived from *rājā* and denote minor (subordinate) *kings*, then in that context the explanation as a derivative from *pradeśa* and equivalent in meaning to *maṇḍalika* would have a preference. In any case the functions of the *pradeśtr* deserved to be considered.¹

2. MAHĀMĀTRA

That the term *mahāmātra* is, as M. Senart has stated (pp. 279 sqq.), a generic designation for high officials,² may be taken as an accepted fact. It belongs to the order of polite periphrases (*mahatī mātrā yasya* = “a person of high standing”), and is quite analogous to *priyadarśana* and the like. But there seems to be still room for providing against misunderstanding, since Dr. Neumann, while furnishing the exact rendering “Grosswürdenträger”, adopts as equivalent the term “Marschall” (*Dīghanikāya*, trans. ii, p. 219), and explains the meaning as “königliche Minister”. That the *mahāmātras* of the Edicts are not, in fact, “councillors”, but officials, such as “governors”,

¹ The *Prasāṣṭr* of *Arthaśāstra*, p. 20, etc., is perhaps the *Śāsanādhikārin*, superintendent of correspondence, of c. 28.

² “Fonctionnaires de tout ordre, mais de rang élevé.” Bühler gives “verschiedene hohe Beamten” (ZDMG. xxxvii, p. 267).

may be taken as self-evident, since they are generally provincial and local authorities; moreover, in the "separate Edicts" of Dhauli and Jaugada we have certain of them distinguished by the term *viyohālaka* = *vyavahārīka*, "legal *mahāmātras*"; and these are nothing but judges. It will be worth while to adduce some further evidence in substantiation of these facts.

In the *Arthaśāstra* I have noted the following occurrences: p. 16 (perhaps = "minister"); p. 20 (probably "local official"); p. 58 (*prthag dharmasthīyaṃ mahāmātrīyaṃ . . . bandhanāgāraṃ* = "a prison with separate places for judges and officials"); p. 213 (uncertain); p. 235 ("local official"); pp. 236–7 ("local official").

In the books of the Pali canon the word *mahāmatta* is of quite common occurrence; and, as the Pali Text Society's editions of these texts are furnished with indexes, it seems unnecessary to dwell at length upon the fact. The *vohārīka mahāmatta* ("legal officials") are mentioned several times, for example in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, which has also *gaṇakamahāmatta* ("financial official"), *senānāyakaṃ* ("military official"), *upacārakaṃ* ("court official"), and *sabbatthakaṃ* ("Prime Minister"). Here the general sense seems to be that of "minister"; but the matter is open to doubt.

In consideration of these facts it seems expedient still to prefer the general term "official" or "dignitary" to any limiting translation, such as "councillor" or "marshal".

3. YUKTA (YUTA)

That *yukta* denotes a subordinate official I endeavoured previously (JRAS., 1909, pp. 466–7) to prove by the aid of the *Arthaśāstra*. A passage in the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (viii, 34) might also have been quoted:—

*pranaṣṭādhigataṃ dravyaṃ tiṣṭhed' yuktair adhiṣṭhitāṃ|
yāṃs tatra corān grhṇīyāt tān rājēbhena ghātayet||*

“Lost property when come by should remain in charge of the *yuktas*: any of them (*tatra*; or ‘in that respect’) detected in theft the king should put to death by an elephant.”

The similarity of this passage to the caution against thievish *yuktas*, which was quoted from the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 70, *yuktās tathā kāryavidhau niyuktā jñātum na śakyā dhanam ādadānāḥ*), is surely unmistakable. Chapter xxvi of the *Arthaśāstra* is entitled “Recovery of funds embezzled by Yuktas”.

The reason for returning to this topic is that Dr. Neumann in dealing with a familiar passage of Rock Edict III (ZDMG. lxvii, pp. 345–6) reverts to the view of M. Senart and Bühler, according to which the *yutā* are “the faithful” (Senart, i, p. 78) or “the dutiful” (Bühler, ZDMG. xxxvii, pp. 106–8). The passage and the three translations are as follows:—

*parisā pi yute āñapayisa[m]ti gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto ca vyamjanato ca.*¹

Senart: “Then to the clergy to instruct the faithful in detail as regards substance and expression.”

Bühler: “Also (the teachers and monks of all) schools shall in the service give point to what is proper, both as regards the text as also with reasons.”²

Neumann: “The Boards shall give the proper orders among the people, according to the reality and according to the terms”³ (loc. cit.).

¹ It is unnecessary to quote the other versions.

² “Auch die (Lehrer und Mönche aller) Schulen werden beim Gottesdienste das Geziemende einschärfen, sowohl dem Wortlaut nach als auch mit Gründen.” Here Bühler takes the word adjectivally, as meaning what is proper, whereas in the earlier passage of the same inscription it is “loyal”, “earnest”, or “dutiful”. Bühler’s own English version may be seen in *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, pp. 466–7.

³ “Die Behörden aber werden das Gebührende veranlassen unter den Leuten, der Wirklichkeit nach und dem Worte nach.”

But if, as seems to be now the general consensus (Bühler, ZDMG. xxxvii, pp. 107-8; Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 50), the quinquennial *anusamyāna* mentioned at the beginning of this Edict is a tour or circuit, it is clear that neither "the faithful" nor "the people" can accompany the Rājūkas and Prādesīkas on such tours. Therefore, in the earlier part of the Edict, and consequently in this passage also, *yuta* cannot bear either of these senses. Let us then turn to *gaṇanāyaṃ*. M. Senart (i, pp. 84-5) interprets the word as equivalent to "going into detail", and he quotes *Jātaka*, i, 29, *gaṇanāto asaṃkhiyā*, which, however, we should naturally interpret "as regards, counting, numberless". Bühler's view (ZDMG. xxxvii, p. 108) is that the word is a synonym of *kīrtana* in the sense of "recitation". Dr. Neumann's interpretation is not perhaps quite clear; but apparently he would understand the word as meaning the assigning to each person or thing its due weight.

But surely the facts are too strong for any such expedients. The primary and regular sense of *gaṇanā* is counting; *gaṇanāpati* is a "reckoner"; *gaṇakamahāmatta* (Vinaya - piṭaka, Mahāvvyutpatti) is "Finance Minister"; *gaṇanam sikkheyya* (Vinaya-piṭaka) is "learn reckoning"; in the *Arthaśāstra* the chapter dealing with the establishment of the Treasury is entitled *Akṣapaṭale gāṇanikyādhikāra*. Moreover, it is clear that the functions of the *yuktas* were prevailingly clerical. Let us add that the previous sentence in the Edict recommends *alpabhāṇḍata* and *alpavyayatā*, "economy in furniture and expense" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 20-1). How, then, can we resist the conclusion that the true translation is "let the (religious) parishads also appoint clerks for keeping accounts"?

As regards the *yutāni* or *yutā* (n.pl.), which in some of the versions is substituted for *yute* (acc. pl. masc.),

there is no difficulty in understanding it as a collective neuter = "clerical staffs" ¹

Now, if here the word follows the usage of the *Arthaśāstra* in denoting subordinate, chiefly clerical, officials, it can hardly mean anything else in the earlier passage (quoted above, p. 388) of the same inscription. And in particular it cannot be adjectivally applied to such dignitaries as the *Rājūka* and *Prādeśika*. Therefore *yutā ca rājūke ca prādeśike ca* cannot mean "the faithful, the *Rājūka*, and the governor of the district" (Senart), nor "the loyal *Rājūkas* and vassals" (Bühler). We shall translate "the secretariat staffs, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādeśika*".

The use of the root *yuj* to denote "employing" is not confined to the form *yukta* (or *āyukta*). In the *Arthaśāstra* we have both *yogapuruṣa*—

p. 245: *yathā ya yogapuruṣair anyān rājādhitiṣṭhati*,

"And as by his employees (agents) the king governs others,"

and *yugyapuruṣa*—

p. 334: . . . *yudhyeta na parikṣīṇayugyaparuruṣaṃ*,

"Let him not fight one whose servants are wasted away,"

in the sense of "servants". *Yoga* is, in fact, "practical work," and *Sāṃkhya-yoga* is the *Sāṃkhya* view put into practice.²

The order of mention of the *yukta*, *rājūkas*, and *prādeśikas* is somewhat surprising; it is certainly not order of dignity. Perhaps it may be explained by supposing

¹ I leave this as it was written. But the reader should consult an important article by Professor Lüders in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, 1913, pp. 988 sqq., where it is proved that *yutā* is nom. and *yutāni* acc. pl. masc.

² Part v of the *Arthaśāstra*, cc. 89–94, dealing with the personnel of the administration, is entitled *Yogavṛtta*; and the last chapter in the book, entitled *Tantrayukti*, contains directions for using the book (*tantra*).

the *yuktas* to belong to the imperial establishment, while the *rājūka* is the Governor. Then we should have "the secretariat staff, the Governor, and the *Prādeśika*".

As concerns the concluding words of the edict, *hetuto ca vyamjanato ca*, which previously (*Indian Antiquary*, xxxvii, p. 21) I rendered by "with regard to the dictates of reason and the prescriptions of actual texts", treating the word *vyamjanena* in another occurrence (Rūpnāth inscription) as denoting "with the text of a royal instruction" or simply "according to a royal intimation, or command", I observe that, while this last view has been followed by Professor Hultzsch (JRAS. 1912, pp. 1058-9), who adopts the former of the two alternatives, Dr. Neumann applies the same sense to the former passage. It will be seen that the difference is very slight, since Dr. Neumann speaks of the definite prescriptions of the king, whereas I had thought of the definite prescriptions of religious books. Perhaps, however, it is neither of these, but definite prescriptions generally. In any case the *hetu* is the general reason for a proceeding (cf. *Arthasāstra*, p. 28, where the abilities of ministers in giving reasons is mentioned), and the *vyamjana* is the special circumstance, whether royal order or other stimulus to action.

4. AṬHABHĀGIYA

Aśoka, when in the 21st year from his coronation he visited the Lumbinī Garden, made the village of Lumbinī *ubalika* and *aṭhabhāgiya* (*Lumminī-gāme ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye ca*). That *ubalika* = (*ud* + *bali* + *ka*) means free from *bali*, which last word means "tax", or especially religious cess, we have already seen (JRAS. 1909, pp. 466-7). It is proposed by Dr. J. F. Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 761) to take *bhāga* in the sense of the proportion of the grain harvest accruing to the king, and *aṭhabhāgiye* accordingly as = *aṣṭabhāgya*, not *arthabhāgya*.

It seems to me that the view of Dr. Fleet must in the main be accepted. Since *bhāga* is a regular technical term for the royal portion (note, for instance, in the *Arthasāstra*, p. 60, the list of sources of revenue, beginning with *sītā* (harvest of royal demesnes), *bhāgo*, *balih*, *karo*, etc.), it can hardly here, by the side of *balī*, be taken in any other sense; on the other hand, if *bhāga* is used in the technical sense, the first member of the compound *aṭhabhāgiye* can be nothing but *aṣṭa*, "eight." Dr. Neumann's argument to the contrary (*Dīghanikāya*, trans. ii, p. 238) seems to me quite invalid.

Where I am unable to follow Dr. Fleet is in regarding the "eighth part" as relinquished in the case of the village of Lumbinī (JRAS. 1908, pp. 479–80). When we remember that according to the Brahmanical books the king is *ṣaḍbhāgin*, his share being a sixth—the testimony of Megasthenes (see E. W. Hopkins, JAOS. xiii, pp. 86–8; Vincent Smith, *History of Ancient India*, p. 134) fixes it in his day at one-fourth—we can see that what Aśoka did was to remit *half* of the *bhāga*, or share-tax, of the Lumbinī village, and thereby to fix its contribution as one-eighth.

5. SAMĀJA

As the uncertainty with regard to *samāja* (Edict I) does not seem even yet to have quite disappeared, a further attempt may be ventured, even though in some small part it involves a conjecture.

The word is interpreted as denoting a "festival" (*festins*, Senart, i, p. 50), or "fair" (*melā*, Bühler, ZDMG. xxxvii, pp. 93–4), or "merry festival" (Vincent Smith, *Edicts of Aśoka*, p. 48); and the difficulty is to explain why the thing denoted should be condemned in an edict directed against the slaughter of animals. M. Senart conceives that *samāja* may have acquired the sense of *prāṇārambha*, while Bühler suggests that the fairs might be attended by a certain amount of riotousness.

Now, since the two words *utsava* and *samāja* are commonly found in combination (e.g. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 45, *yātrāsamājotsava*; inscription of Khāravela, l. 5; *Rāmāyaṇa* (Görresio), ii, 48, 21, etc.), it follows that the latter has a sense akin to, but not identical with, that of the former. If we consult the dictionary (B. & R.) we shall see further that a *samāja* is a thing to be viewed by spectators, since we have the word *prekṣāsamāja* also *samājamañca*, "a platform for a *samāja*," and *sāmājika*, "a spectator"; further, that it has an enclosure, *samājavāṭa*. Moreover, if we turn to actual passages, we find that the *samāja* of *Mbh.* i, 185. 29, is the bow contest of the Pāṇḍavas, which accompanied the marriage of Draupadī, while in the *Harivaṃśa*, 4537 sqq., 8189 sqq., it is attended by wrestling contests.

It is, I suppose, needless to consult further passages, such as will be found numerous cited in Böhtlingk and Roth's dictionary. The *samāja* is plainly a celebration of games, or rather contests (in view of the derivation; cf. *āji*), taking place in an arena (*samājavāṭa*), or amphitheatre, surrounded by platforms (*mañca*) for spectators (*prekṣā*°-). And, if we inquire what there may have been in them to offend the humanity of Aśoka, we have only to call to mind the contests of animals described by the Greeks and implied in the Sanskrit literature (see E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS.* xiii, pp. 122, 124; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 120).

As regards those *samājas* of which Aśoka expresses in the same edict his approval, we may doubtless think of the edifying shows (*vimānadaśana*, etc.) mentioned in Edict IV.

If it is asked why the Pāli literature fails to shed light upon the meaning of the word *samāja*, we are fortunately able to render a satisfactory answer. The fact is that the thing is well known, but under a synonym, namely, *samajjā*, *samajja*, often in the phrase *giraggasamajja*.

It is unnecessary to quote passages, as a considerable number of them has been cited by E. Hardy in a paper contributed to *Album Kern* (pp. 61–6).¹ Most of them deal with dramatic and musical entertainments; but in *Jātaka*, iii, 541²⁰, we have a club-fight—

daṇḍehi yuddham pi samajjamajjhe.

The most telling passage is, however, one from the *Dīghanikāya*, i, 1, 14 (not mentioned by Hardy), where we have actual mention of fights between elephants, buffaloes, etc. We can easily, therefore, see why attendance at such gatherings (*samajjābhicaraṇa*) is in the *Dīghanikāya* (iii, 182) stigmatized as a sin.

It will be noted that the *samajja* is frequently regarded as taking place on the top of a hill (*giragga*), concerning which it will be sufficient to refer to the paper of Hardy and the writers whom he quotes. As Hardy remarks (p. 65), the sense of *giri* eventually evaporated. Curiously enough, a theatrical meaning of the word may be traced in comparatively late times: for commenting upon an anthology verse from the *Mālatīmādhava* (*Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, p. 185), while still ignorant of the history of the matter, I have remarked, “Has this word also a theatrical signification?”

Very possibly in *giriguḍaka*, “polo,” the same weakened force (= “theatre”, “arena”) of the word is to be traced.

6. AGNISKANDHA

Some doubt concerning this word seems still to be felt by Professor Hultzsch (JRAS. 1913, pp. 651–2), although previously (ZDMG. xxxvii, 555) he had himself quoted the explanation of Bühler (ZDMG. xxxvii, 260), according to which it denotes illuminations or “fire-trees” (“Feuerbäume”), such as are sometimes represented in modern temples. M. Senart had thought (i, p. 101) of lamps,

¹ Cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, pp. 7–8, n. 4.

torches, or feux de joie, accompanying a festival. Professor Hultzsch now considers that the word may denote "radiant beings of another world".

That *agniskandha* means simply a "mass of fire" can be proved by a considerable quantity of evidence. In the *Saddharmapundarikā* (ed. Kern & Nanjio), pp. 72-3, it denotes a conflagration: so also in the *Anguttaranikāya*, iv, p. 128, and *Paṭisambhīdāmagga*, p. 125. And, if this sense is sufficient for the passage, it is hardly necessary to go further.

That a "mass of fire" was in India an auspicious object we can see from the fact that one of the dreams of Trīśālā, the mother of Mahāvīra, was of just such an object: "And a fire. She saw a fire in vehement motion, fed with much shining and honey-coloured ghee, smokeless, crackling, and extremely beautiful with its burning flames. The mass of its flames, which rose one above the other, seemed to interpenetrate each other, and the blaze of its flames appeared to bake the firmament in some places" (*Kalpasūtra*, trans. Jacobi, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxii, p. 238; cf. the article of Dr. Hüttemann in the *Bäessler Archiv*, iv, 2, where the dreams are illustrated from miniatures).

Another of the dreams was of an elephant. We can hardly, therefore, go wrong in rendering Aśoka's *Aggikhaṇḍha* by "bonfire". Another use of fires, namely for signalling ("beacon-fires"), is mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*, p. 141; this perhaps is the origin of the famous *Nyāya* illustration *vahnivyāpyadhūma*°.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON A TAMIL INSCRIPTION IN SIAM

After frequent reconsideration of my original reading and rendering of this ancient record, and thanks to communications received from Mr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, Bangalore, I am now able to correct my remarks in this Journal, 1913, pp. 337-9, in several respects.

In the first line the letter following . . . *ravarma* is not *t*, but *n* with *virāma*, and the next *akshara*, *ku*, is perhaps followed by an obliterated *ṇa*. At the end of l. 2 I now read *Naṅgūr* = *a[d]ai* . . . After *śrī* in the next line there are traces of a Grantha *a* and of a *va*: I feel tempted to supply the word *avanī*. The first word of the last line is perhaps [*muḷu*]*dārkkum*. If this reading is correct, the first *m* would be due to Sandhi, and the participial noun *uḷudār* would be used in the sense of *uḷavar* or *uḷunar*, "cultivators."

As regards the actual purport of the inscription, Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar recognized that my tentative rendering of l. 3 was wrong, and that the Tamil symbols in the middle of this line have to be divided into *kuḷam pēr* (instead of *kuḷamb=ēr*). He further told me that the relative participle *toṭṭa*, which precedes *kuḷam*, "a tank," must have in this connexion the meaning "dug", as in Tiruvalluvar's *Kuraḷ*, verse 396, where *toṭṭu* . . . *kēṇi* means "having dug . . . a well or tank". Finally, he pointed out that the word following *pēr*, "a name," is not, as I thought, the designation of a Vaishṇava temple, but is the actual name of the tank, which is placed under the protection of the Maṇigrāmattār, etc.

I now subjoin an improved transcript and translation of the document—

Text

- 1 . . . ravarman Ku[ṇa] . . .
- 2 [m]ān tān Naṅgūr=a[ḍ]ai¹ . . .
- 3 =[t]toṭṭa kuḷam pēr Śrī-[Ava][ni*]-
- 4 Nāraṇam Maṇikkirāmattār[k*]-
- 5 [k]um sēṇāmugattārkkum-
- 6 [m=ulu]dārkkum² aḍaikkalam

Translation

“The tank, (by) name Śrī-[Avani]-Nāraṇam, which was dug [near] Naṅgūr by . . . ravarman Gu[ṇa] . . . [m]ān himself, (is placed under) the protection of the members of Maṇigrāmam and of the men of the vanguard and of the cultivators.”

The builder of the tank, whose first name ended in *ravarman* (perhaps Bhāskaravarman?), evidently was a person of royal descent, and [Avani]-Nārāyaṇa, “a Viṣṇu on earth,” was a surname of his, after which he called the tank dug by himself. Naṅgūr seems to have been the Tamil name of the old Hindū settlement, the existence of which has been proved by Colonel Gerini (above, 1904, p. 245).

E. HULTZSCH.

THE FIVE HUNDRED AND NINE HUNDRED YEARS

In *T'oung Pao*, ser. II, vol. v (1904), pp. 269 ff., Dr. Takakusu gave a translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu, in the course of which he has made two statements regarding which a question has been raised:—

1. On p. 276 he has said: “In the sixth century after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa there lived an Arhat,” etc. And

¹ Read perhaps =aḍaiya, “to border upon”, or =iḍai, “(in) the middle of”.

² For the doubling of a final *m* before an initial vowel see, e.g., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 385, text-lines 76–95, where the *m* of *um* is doubled before *idaṇ* in twenty-three instances.

to this he attached a footnote in which, giving the four Chinese characters which express the number, he has said that the phrase means "in the five hundred years, i.e. at a time in 500–599 years A.B., therefore the sixth century".¹

2. On p. 281 he has said: "In the tenth century after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa there was a heretic," etc. And to this he attached a footnote in which, giving the four Chinese characters expressing this number, he has said that the meaning is "in nine hundred years, i.e. at a time in 900–999 years, A.B., therefore the tenth century".²

In the discussion of the date of Kanishka in this Journal for 1913 there has been a difference of opinion as to the application of the first of these two statements. Following Dr. Takakusu, Dr. Thomas has taken it (pp. 646, 1031) as meaning the years 500–599. On the other hand, Dr. Barnett has urged (p. 943) that it means most naturally the fifth century, the years 401–500. Dr. Fleet has asked for my opinion as to what the two expressions really mean, remarking that the question involves more than simply the bearing of the first of them on the date of Kanishka.

I have looked up the two passages in the Chinese text of the Life of Vasubandhu from which Dr. Takakusu made his translation. In the first passage the four Chinese characters, with their transliteration, are—

五 百 年 中

wu pai nien chung

Wu = "five"; *pai* = "hundred"; *nien* = "year"; *chung* = "in the middle of, within". In the other passage the four characters, with their transliteration, are—

九 百 年 中

kiu pai nien chung

¹ Cf. JRAS., 1905, p. 52: "in the 'five hundreds' (a time between 500–599 years, i.e. sixth century) after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa."

² Cf. JRAS., 1905, p. 51, "the 'nine hundreds', i.e. tenth century:" cf. also BEFEO., iv, p. 56, n. 5.

Kiu = "nine": the other words are as before. In both cases *chung* is put quite correctly at the end of the phrase, as is always done: it refers to what precedes it.

Both phrases and their translations by Dr. Takakusu have already been made the subject of a lengthy discussion by M. Noël Peri in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, xi (1911), p. 356. M. Peri thinks that chronological statements of this kind, which are not seldom found in the Chinese Buddhist books, may mean, if taken purely grammatically, the "terminus a quo" as well as the "terminus ad quem": but he personally believes that, unless some indication points to the contrary, it is generally the "terminus ad quem" that is to be understood. This, he adds, is in fact the only meaning possible when the first century after the Nirvāṇa is in question; then *yi pai nien chung* can only mean the years from 1 to 100. It is therefore necessary to take similar expressions of 200, 300 years, etc., in the same way, i.e., as meaning the years from 101 to 200, from 201 to 300, etc.; otherwise, if *yi pai nien chung* meant the second century, there would be no means of marking off the first.

As to myself, I quite agree with M. Peri, but I go farther than he does. I cannot admit that, even purely grammatically taken, expressions like *wu pai nien chung* can ever mean "in the sixth century", or *kiu pai nien chung* "in the tenth century". Their meaning can only be: "within five (nine) hundred years", i.e., purely grammatically taken, at a time within a period the limit of which is five (nine) hundred years, at a time not later than 500 (900) years, after the Nirvāṇa. In fact, of course, "during the fifth (ninth) century" is meant. If any further proof were wanted it is given by M. Peri's researches into the date of Vasubandhu. Dr. Takakusu makes the latter live between A.D. 420 and 500, i.e., in the tenth century A.N. (*kiu pai nien chung*). But M. Peri

shows, on quite different grounds, that Vasubandhu did live in the first half of the fourth century A.D. (loc. cit., p. 384), i.e., in the ninth century after the Nirvāṇa. Consequently, *kiu pai nien chung* means "the ninth century", and *wu pai nien chung* "the fifth century".

O. FRANKE.

HAMBURG.

[The tradition which mentions the five hundred years, that is, as we see now, the fifth century, after the Nirvāṇa, places in that period the Arhat Kātyāyanī-putra, and also Aśvaghōsha, whom it presents as contemporaneous with him. Another tradition represents Aśvaghōsha as a contemporary of Kanishka. Thus, the two traditions combined, as they have been, on both sides, in the discussion mentioned above, have the effect of placing Kanishka in the fifth century after the death of Buddha, that is, in the period B.C. 83 to A.D. 17. Perhaps this tradition, also, will now be rejected, as unreliable, by those who have used it, with the wrong application of the meaning of the five hundred years, towards fixing a later date for Aśvaghōsha and Kanishka?—J. F. F.]

A SEAL OF SRI-VADRA

This seal is now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, London, the Director of which, Sir Cecil H. Smith, has kindly sent me an ink-impression, from which the accompanying figuring of it has been made.¹ It bears the number 07764, I.S. The material is copper. In shape it is oval, measuring from top to bottom $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches and from side to side $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches. Its provenance is fortunately known: it was found in excavating the Ganges Canal between Hardwar and Cawnpore.

¹ Dr. Coomaraswamy has recently published a facsimile in his *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 77, where it is styled "Seal of the Court of Vadrāntapa".

The figures occupying the greater part of the face are the goddess Lakshmi standing on a lotus, and two elephants, one on each side of her, performing the *kumbhābhiṣeka*, with a *chaitya* at each corner. Under this is an inscription in Brāhmī script of the sixth or seventh century—

Śrī-vadr-āntapa-ṣa-
y-ādhikaraṇasya

“[Seal] of the office of the district of the Warden of the Frontier of Śrī-vadra.”



Śrī-vadra is evidently a place-name, in which *vadra* is from *padra*, ‘a village or settlement.’ The name does not appear to be found elsewhere. If conjecture is permissible, the similarity of the names *Śrī-vadra* and *Śrī-nagara*, and the comparative nearness of Srinagar in Garhwal to the place where our seal was found, suggest a possible connexion.

L. D. BARNETT.

A NOTE ON THE NAME KUSHAN

In his paper entitled "Was there a Kushana Race?" at pp. 79-88 above, Baron A. von Staël-Holstein seeks to show that the name of the people of whom Kaniska is the most celebrated representative was Kuṣa or Kuśa, and not Kuṣana as has hitherto been accepted.

There are important objections to this view, which seems to have been suggested by the late title *Kūṣān śāh* (کوشان شاه), which can only be translated, as Persian, by "śāh of the Kūṣas" by one unacquainted with the earlier history of the word *Kuṣan*. Perhaps the most remarkable statement to which the writer of the article commits himself is to be found on p. 83, where, in discussing Kaniska's coin-legends, he says: "It is difficult to think of any reason why we should not consider KANHṖKI the first (or the last) word of the legend, and KOPANO PAONANO PAO as his title." It must be obvious to anyone who has ever seen one of the coins in question that the legend cannot be taken in the order in which Baron von Staël-Holstein thus takes it so as to get an equivalent of کوشان شاه on the coins. This point has been so fully discussed by Dr. Fleet (pp. 374 ff. above) that I need only say that it seems to me as certain that the legend begins with *shaonano* as it is that the corresponding Greek legend begins with ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC. The coin-legends of the period begin either at the bottom on the left, or (more rarely) at the top on the right; certainly only in a position where one naturally begins to read and at once recognizes the beginning.

There are other points in the paper open to objection. By confining his attention chiefly to expressions of the form *Kūṣān śāh*, in which *Kūṣān* is in the genitive sense and therefore seems also to be genitive in form, Baron von Staël-Holstein makes out a very plausible case. We must, however, concentrate our attention on

the word *Kuṣān* alone. In the first place there is considerable ancient evidence to show that the name of the people in question did not end in a vowel but had a nasal at the end of its second syllable. The Chinese form of the name, *Kuei-shuang*, must be the equivalent of a base, and not of the genitive plural of an Indian or Iranian form. In the passage quoted by Baron von Staël-Holstein it might possibly be thought, particularly in view of his translation, that in *Kuei-shuang wang* (= *Kūṣān śāh*)¹ *Kuei-shuang* could be the equivalent of a genitive plural, although it is unlikely that one part of the phrase would be transliterated and the other translated; it is therefore necessary to examine other occurrences of the name *Kuei-shuang* in cases where they cannot possibly be genitive; such an example is found a few lines above the quotation from the *Hou-Han-Shu*, given by Baron von Staël-Holstein (p. 80), in the list of tribes of the Ta-Yue-Che.² The name reproduced by the Chinese *Kuei-shuang* must therefore have contained a final nasal and have been a form like *Kuṣān* rather than *Kuṣa*. Similar testimony to the existence of this form is given by other languages, e.g., the Syriac *Quṣāni* or *Qasani* given as a gloss on *Βάκτροι* in the *Spicelegium Syriacum* (ed. Cureton, London, 1855, pp. 20-2). Ammianus Marcellinus says (xvi, 9. 4.) that Sapor II spent the winter of A.D. 356 on the frontiers of the Chionitæ and *Eusenî*: we need have no hesitation in accepting Tomaschek's³ emendation of

¹ It must be remembered that we do not actually know that *wang* corresponds to *śāh*.

² We may here note that Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 191, translates the passage "he elected himself king; the name of his kingdom was *Kuei-shuang*", and not "he used the dynastic title king of the *Kuei-shuang*". It certainly can be translated "he used the dynastic title king of *Kuei-shuang*" as de Groot does. It is impossible to tell from the Chinese whether the name is of a people or their country.

³ *Centralasiatische Studien I*, in *Sitz. Ber. d. Wien. Akad.*, 1887, vol. 87, pp. 155-156; it is accepted by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 36, note 5.

Euseni to *Cuseni* or *Cusani*; and we thus have evidence that the Romans also knew that the name contained an *n* and was not *Kuša*. The Armenian *Kusank* and the Tibetan *Guzān* point in the same direction.

Incidentally Baron v. Staël-Holstein suggests (p. 81, note 2) that the legend *sasasa* found on coins of Gondophernes = genitive of *sa(n)sa* (= *śāhān śāh*). But, in the first place, there is no question of the legend being anything more than *sasasa*; there is no nasal in the word; it is unlikely that in a Kharoṣṭhī legend an equivalent of *śāhānuśāhi* would be degraded to *sasa* at this early date; and it is no analogy to quote the *saansaan* of Ammianus Marcellinus—a Roman author of the fourth century. There is already an equivalent of *βασιλεὺς βασιλεων* in the *rajadirajasa* of the legend on these coins,¹ and there is no reason to expect another. The legends are Greek and Indian, and there is no reason to expect an Iranian form. Finally, *Sasasa* is simply what it appears to be,—the genitive of *Sasa*,² which is a well-known Scythian name: it is of common occurrence in the Greek form *Σάσας* in Scythian inscriptions.³

With regard to the title *كوشان شاه* itself, it seems to mean “king of Kūṣān” rather than “king of the Kuṣāns (or of the Kuṣas)”. It seems that the name Kūṣān was soon transferred to the kingdom itself, if indeed it did not have this meaning even in ancient times also,⁴ and was used as a synonym for Bactria,⁵ notably in Armenian. In Persian this transference was readily made, being facilitated by the analogy of numerous Persian place-names in

¹ Gardner, p. 206, No. 29 ff.

² Cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v.

³ Cf. B. Latyschew, *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxeni*, 1885, etc.; Indices.

⁴ *Kuei-shuang-wang* is, equally, “king of Kuei-shuang” and “king of the Kuei-shuang”.

⁵ Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

ان.¹ The references to *Kūšān* are rare in the Arab geographers. Ibn Khurdādbih² gives a list of kings who have the title شاه, among them is the *Bazurg Kūsān šāh*: there is no reason to doubt that *Kūšān* is the name of a kingdom here, as in the other titles quoted (*Kirmānšāh*, *Mervšāh*, etc.). The only reference I can trace to the use of *Kūšān* alone is Yāqūt's³ statement that کوشان is a town in the land of the Turks. کوشان شاه, then, most probably means "king of *Kūšān*", and not "king of the *Kūšas*". With regard to the title *wazurg Kūšān šāh* on certain coins of Firoz, the inscriptions, like the types, are copied from Sassanian models, and *Kūšān šāh* so clearly corresponds to the *šāhān šāh* (*malikān malikā*) *Irān u Anirān* of the Sassanian emperors, that it is probably even at this early date a territorial designation modelled on this legend, to be translated "king of *Kūšān*" and not of "the *Kūšas*".

I am unable to appreciate the difficulties found by Baron v. Staël-Holstein in translating the title *Kuṣana-yavugasa* of the Kadphises I coins and the *Khuṣanasa yaüasa* of the Kadaphes coins either as synonyms ("(of) the *Kuṣan yavuga*" or "*yavuga* of *Kuṣan*"), or the former legend "the *yavuga* of the *Kuṣan*" or "of *Kuṣan*", and the latter as "the *Kuṣan yavuga*". He assumes the identity of Kadphises I and Kadaphes, which is of course not absolutely certain (but it may be assumed for the present), and regards the coins bearing the former legend as issued after Kadphises had become "king". He proposes to read the legend as one compound, *Khuṣanasayaüasa*, and to translate "king (*sa* = *šāh*) and *yavuga* of the *Kuṣan*"; this, in the first place, is an

¹ Some at least originally genitive plurals; e.g., *Gīlān*; cf. *Gelæ*, Γῆλαι; but this was soon lost sight of; and it must be remembered that, when an Arab geographer talks of the گیلان شاه he means "king of *Gīlān*" and not "king of the *Gēls*".

² Ed. de Goeje, p. 17.

³ Ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, p. 320, l. 15.

unnatural construction of the legend, and while *śāh* might be represented in Greek, even in this period, by *σα* as in Sapor, there is no reason to suppose it would be so in Kharoṣṭhī, which, for one reason, has an *ṣ* to represent *ś*; an equivalent of *śāh* would only be found if the legend were in the language to which *śāh* belongs. We might possibly have had *maharaja*, but *yavuga* is a sufficient regal title. Further, the Chinese authorities say that Kadphises changed his title from *yavuga* to "king" (*wang* = *śāh*?); and so we may not expect to find an equivalent of *Kuei-shuang wang* on coins which bear the title *yavuga*. If Kadphises–Kadaphes ruled territories where the dialect found on Kaniška's coins was spoken, he certainly did not issue a special coinage for them, and we therefore need not expect to find an equivalent of شاه on his coins.

As to the remarks on pp. 82–3, it seems most unlikely, on philological grounds, that CY can be a Greek genitive of the contemporary form of *śāh*. The Greek legends on the coins of Zeionises are very corrupt, and the form CATPAΠY can hardly be taken as evidence of the contraction of OY to Y; particularly as we have the usual OY in the king's name on the same coin. In any case, this only takes us to COY, and we are still a long way from *śāh*.¹ In the legend XOPANCY ZAOOY KOZOΛAKADAPHES, even if we allow that XOPANCY = XOPANCOY, or, as Dr. Fleet suggests, XOPANOY, it cannot be a genitive of *Kūśān śāh*, for the simple reason that, if it were an equivalent of *Kūśān śāh*, it would be in the nominative like the rest of the legend and not in the genitive. KOZOΛAKADAPHES is an undoubted nominative. ZAOOY looks at first sight like a genitive, till we transliterate it, when it is seen to

¹ CY is supposed to be genitive of a form *sa*, but the form شة, with *ā*, for شاه, is of quite modern origin.

be *yawu* or *jawu* (جو),¹ which is nominative, as might be expected, in apposition to Kadaphes. XOPANCY is an adjective qualifying ZAOOY, as in the Prakrit legend. The legend *Kūṣān śāh*, therefore, is not known to have been used by Kadphises I—Kadaphes; nor, of course, by Kadphises II, whose coin-legends are Greek and Indian only.

We now proceed to examine the legend of the other group of Kuṣan coins. Three different legends are found on Kaniṣka's coins:—

1. On his coins (in gold and copper) with Greek legends—

BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN KANHPKOY.

2. On his copper coins with Iranian legend—

PAO KANHPKI.

3. On his other gold coins—

PAONANO PAO KANHPKI KOṬANO,

which can only mean “the king of kings, Kaniṣka, the Kuṣān.”

Even if it were possible to take the words in the order suggested by Baron A. v. Staël-Holstein, KOṬANO PAONANO PAO could only mean “king of kings, the Kuṣān”, and not “king of kings of the Kuṣas or Kuṣāns”. This latter is an impossible title, as the very title “king of kings” implies other peoples than the Kuṣāns, for Kaniṣka's empire must have included much more than the five tribes of the Ta-Yue-Che, to which the name Kuṣān was transferred from one of them. As Kadphises—Kadaphes does not call himself “king of kings”, it is unlikely that Kaniṣka's title could refer to the five tribes of the Kuṣāns, who must by this time have

¹ For Z = y, cf. KOZOAA = Kuyula, AZOY = Ayasa; = j, KOZOYAO = Kujula; ZEIONISOY = Jihuniasa, and for OO = w, cf. OOHMA = Wima.

been merged into one people. And if we assume *wang* = *śāh*, the rulers of the other four tribes were not of the importance of kings. It must also be remembered that the title is a borrowed one, and that titles like the later "king of kings of Iran and Aniran" were not then in vogue; so that it is unlikely that Kaniska adopted a title of this territorial form. There is, then, no title of the form *Kūśān śāh* on Kaniska's coins; and any argument from it that KOPANO is a genitive plural must fall to the ground.

The legend on 208 of the 212 gold coins of Huviška in the British Museum, and apparently on the copper coins also, is PAONANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO,¹ which can only mean, as on the coins of Kaniska, "king of kings, Huviška, the Kuśān." On the remaining four coins—(one specimen of B.M. Cat. No. 18 and three of No. 81: one of each of the two types is figured by Dr. Fleet, C, 1 and 2 in the plate at p. 378 above)—it is

PAONANO PAO OOHPKO KOPANO PAO.

These coins differ from all the others in obverse type,—in the form OOHPKO, and in the ending KOPANO PAO instead of simply KOPANO. Here, then, for the first time we have an apparent equivalent of *Kūśān śāh*. But when we remember that on ninety-nine per cent of Huviška's coins no such expression occurs, we must be careful how we regard it. I am inclined to find a clue in the form OOHPKO, and perhaps in the fact that in one type the king is riding an elephant; OOHPKO, with final O, is an Indian form in distinction to the OOHPKI of the majority of the legends (cf. BOΔΔO = Buddha) and the PAO is an equivalent of *mahārāja*, which Indian usage required in addition to PAONANO PAO, which would be considered the equivalent of *rājādirāja* only. It is not impossible, however, that it should be translated

¹ A few have the form OYOHPKI; OOHPKI is also found.

We will discuss only one more occurrence of Kuṣan on a coin-legend, but it is an important one in this connexion. There are certain coins of Sassanian fabric, attributed to the Kidāra Kuṣans, which have an obverse legend read by Cunningham as *Kidāra Kuṣāna Ṣāhi*.¹ The legend runs round the head. *Kidāra Kuṣānaṣa* (not *naṣa*) is quite clear: and Cunningham thought he could read *hi* beside the head. There is a faint blur on fig. 1 beside the head; but there is certainly no letter there on No. 2; nor on other coins in the British Museum. The correct legend is certainly *Kidāra-Kuṣānaṣa* in the genitive, and not *Kidāra-Kuṣāna-Ṣāhi*. The name of the Kidāra Kuṣana then was certainly Kuṣaṇa, and not Kusa.

¹ N.C., 1893, pl. xv, figs. 1, 2; p. 199.

earlier period, and if stress were laid on it we should have such impossible forms as *maharujusu*, *rujutirujusu*,¹ etc.

With regard to the Baron's evidence for the form Kuṣa from Aśvaghoṣa, — if it is actually an Indian form, it is a pandit's etymology. But more probably the Tibetan translator made the very mistake into which Baron von Staël-Holstein would now lead us (see also p. 380).

As to his note 2, p. 86, we cannot deny that *کوشان شاه*, if it only occurred in Persian, could be translated "king of the Kuṣas". But many Persian place-names end in *ان* which are not genitives. The form *Σεγαυσαύ* in Agathias is of course = *Sakān-sāh*, "king of the Śakas," which is itself known to occur (Pai-kuli inscr.). But this and other analogies quoted by the Baron merely amount to saying that *ان* was a genitive plural termination in Persian.

J. ALLAN.

BRAHMANIC AND KSHATRIYA TRADITION

At p. 118 Dr. Keith has criticized my paper on "Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha", and I may offer a few remarks on the salient points of his criticism.

I take the two propositions that he disputes (p. 118). The first, "the course of all tradition is from the simple and natural to the extravagant and marvellous," is a commonplace in the criticism of ancient legends. Euhemerism has of course been practised, but has any euhemerized legend gained popular currency? Does the kṣatriya tradition, that I set out from six Purāṇas, read like a euhemerized version of the brahmanical stories?

The second proposition is, "it is impossible to treat brahmanic tradition as a critical standard, when notoriously the brahmins had little or no notion of history."

¹ Whitehead, *Cat. Coins in Panjab Museum*, i, p. 156, n. 2.

The disregard shown by the brahmans for history is a commonplace, and Professor Macdonell has stated and explained it in his *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11. That being so, can brahmanic tradition be treated as a critical standard? If Dr. Keith maintains that it can, the burden is on him to prove it. Satyavrata Trisāṅku was a king of Ayodhyā often mentioned in tradition. I quoted six long passages and cited two others; and there are more besides. Trisāṅku the religious teacher is mentioned in one brief passage in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad. To assert on the strength of this single allusion "the worthlessness of the supposed epic tradition" mentioned in many genealogical and other passages in various books is indeed to make brahmanic tradition a critical standard of supreme authority. Trisāṅku the religious teacher was manifestly different from and later than Trisāṅku the king, unless Dr. Keith can show that he belongs to the same ancient period as the first Viśvāmitra, to which king Trisāṅku belongs. The parallel of Saul the king and Saul the religious teacher is strictly apposite in considering the two similar Trisāṅkus.

The difference between kṣatriya and brahmanic tradition has been noticed on pp. 901-2 of my paper, and is paralleled by the difference between tales of chivalry and legends of saints.

Dr. Keith's reference to Sudās on p. 123 concerns a later Viśvāmitra and a later Vasiṣṭha, probably the fourth Vasiṣṭha mentioned in note 2 on p. 901 of my paper. I have there pointed out that there was rivalry between the later Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras.

For the rest it would ill become me to occupy valuable pages of this Journal with points of detail, and those interested in this matter can compare what I have said with Dr. Keith's criticisms.

F. E. PARGITER.

MĀLAVA-GAṆA-STHITI

Two of the oldest inscriptions dated in the Vikrama Era have long been known to contain variations of this phrase; and in what is perhaps the most recent of the discussions devoted to it (JRAS., 1913, pp. 995–8), Dr. J. F. Fleet refers to a recently discovered record (Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 161) in which the phrase is replaced by *mālavagaṇāmnāta*. It would be otiose to repeat the facts, as set forth by Dr. Fleet, who had previously translated *mālava-gaṇa-sthityā* by “the tribal [*gaṇa*] constitution [*sthiti*] of the Mālavas”: he now prefers “the usage [*sthiti*] of the Mālava tribe [*gaṇa*]”.

Curiously enough, the use of the word *gaṇa* in the sense of “corporation” has long been known (see Hopkins, JAOS. xiii, p. 82); and the fact to which it refers in connexion with a national name, such as Mālava—for it has other similar, but not quite identical employments, e.g. in the *gaṇa*, *gaṇin*, *gaṇācārya* of the Buddhists and Jains—is also familiar. This fact is the existence in ancient India of cities and tribes not ruled by kings, but having a republican, or rather oligarchical, constitution, the *αὐτόνομοι πόλεις* of Megasthenes, xxxii, 4, etc. (see Hopkins, op. cit., p. 136, and especially Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 17 seqq.). Professor Rapson, also, in his work on *Indian Coins* (see § 60 and pl. iii, 14) gives a coin of the Yaudheyas bearing the legend *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jaya dvi*.

These facts do not detract from the merit of Mr. Kashi-Prasad Jayasval, who in his papers entitled “An Introduction to Hindu Polity” (*Modern Review*, May to September, 1913; see pp. 3 sqq. of the reprint) has thrown much fresh light upon the subject. We only demur to his pressing the idea of “republic”, whereas the various descriptions seem to point rather to an oligarchical form of government.

I do not claim to be able to advance the matter further. My point is that in this connexion *sthitī* will most reasonably be taken in the sense of "continued existence", as in the *kulasya sthitaye* of *Kumārasambhava*, i, 18 (where Himālaya marries Menā "for the continuance of his family"), or in that of "constitution", as in *rājyasthitī* (see B. & R., s.v. *sthitī*), justifying the substance of Dr. Fleet's original rendering, "the continuance [*sthitī*] of the tribal constitution [*gaṇa*] of the Mālavas." *Mālavagaṇāmnāta* is, of course, "according to the tradition of the Mālava tribal constitution."

The upshot of this is that, according to the earliest available information concerning the connexions of the Vikrama Era, it dates from the foundation of the tribal independence of the Mālavas.

F. W. THOMAS.

"KUSA" CAKRAVARTINS

In his article at p. 79 above, proposing the substitution of "Kuśa" for "Kuśana" as the generic designation of Kaniska's race, Baron von Staël-Holstein supports his thesis by citing (p. 88) the occurrence of the names *Kuśa*, *Mahā-kuśa* and *Upa-kuśa* in the list of Cakravartin emperors in the Buddhist catalogue *Mahāvvyutpatti*. That list, however, consists almost entirely of mere mythological and legendary individuals, and excepting Buddha's father and son (neither of whom certainly was a Cakravartin) and one or two other petty kings, none are even historical personages. In particular, the three "Kuśas", from the position they occupy in the list, were presumably suggested by the site of Buddha's death, namely Kuśinagara or "Kuśā-vatī", and fabricated by the Buddhist monks to give importance to that sacred spot. For these three names immediately precede that of Mahā-Sudarśana, a mythical king of Kuśa-vatī, who

is apologetically introduced by Buddha (according to the *Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta*) when Ānanda expostulates with his Master for dying in such an obscure village—

“ Say not so, Ānanda . . . that this is but a small wattle-and-daub village, a village in the midst of the jungle, a branch township! Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king by name Mahā Sudassana . . . This Kusinārā, Ānanda, was the royal city . . . under the name Kusāvati.” (Davids’ *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, iii, 161; Rockhill’s *Life of Buddha*, p. 136.)

Now this paragraph, of doubtful authenticity in itself, is generally and with reason considered to be the source whence was expanded or invented the large *sutra* bearing the name of this king “Mahā-Sudassana” forming book No. xvii of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

In the era of still further expansion which followed in the scholastic period, about the beginning of our era, were evolved those extravagant lists and categories of names which make up the bulk of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit work which was only published about the ninth century A.D. These lists, I find, are largely made up by separating out elements of names, and artificially duplicating and triplicating them by the prefixes *Mahā*, *Upa*, etc. Thus we find in the list of *Cakravartins* (St. Petersburg ed., 1911, p. 52; cf. also Csoma’s ed., Calcutta, 1910, p. 26, which differs somewhat in spelling: I give the former form)—

8 Cārū, 9 Upa-cārū, 10 Cārū-manta, 11 Muci, 12 Mucilinda, 13 Śakuni, 14 Mahā-Śakuni, 15 Kuśa, 16 Upakuśa, 17 Mahā-kuśa, 18 Sudarśana, 19 Mahā-Sudarśana, 20 Vāmakah, etc.

It seems clear, therefore, that these are not historical personages at all, and have certainly nothing to do with either Kaniska or Aśoka.

L. A. WADDELL.

STĒROS SU

Some of the coins of Hermaeus have on the obverse a legend which runs—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ

The syllable ΣΥ has always been a puzzle,¹ interest in which has been revived by some remarks on p. 83 above, where it seems to be suggested that we have here, as in one other supposed instance, a barbaric genitive of a word *sa = śāh. That suggestion, however, decidedly cannot be accepted.

It is perhaps difficult to propose a solution which will be taken as convincing. But *stēros* certainly stands for *sōtēros*: and I venture to suggest that ΣΥ is a die-sinker's blunder for ΜΥ as an abbreviation of *megalon*. This would give the quite reasonable and appropriate—

s(ō)tēros m(egalo)u,

the genitive, according to the construction of this legend, of the *sōtēr megas* which we have on the obverses of the slightly later coins of "the Nameless King," Sōtēr Megas.

In support of my suggestion there is the fact that the mistake of ΣΕΓΑΛΩΝ for ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ is actually found on a Parthian coin referred to the time of Mithradates III, B.C. 57–54: see Wroth's *Coins of Parthia*, p. 61, No. 5.

J. F. FLEET.

THE ORIGINALITY OF THE RAMAYANA OF TULASI DASA

I read with great interest Sir George Grierson's article headed "Is the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasī Dāsa a translation?" in the number of the JRAS. for January, 1913. I have gone through the Sanskrit Rāmacarita Mānasa as published by Paṇḍit Balbhadra Prasād, and have no hesitation in saying that the claims of the book to be the original on which Tulasī Dāsa based his translation

¹ See JRAS, 1897, p. 319.

are exceedingly weak. To a student of Sanskrit who has studied Tulasī Dāsa carefully, the book appears, as Sir George Grierson has shown by extracts, to be a clumsy forgery. The editors quote a Sanskrit verse printed at the end of the Indian press edition and some other Rāmāyaṇas to show that Tulasī Dāsa compiled a Bhāṣā version of the book written by Śambhu Kavi. This verse does not appear in my father's copy of the Rāmāyaṇa which was printed in Lucknow in 1907, Samvat, sixty-four years ago. But even if the verse is a composition of Tulasī Dāsa, it only means that the Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa was based on the works of the Sukavi (सुकवि) and Śambhu (शम्भु), not Sukavi Śambhu, or Śambhu the great poet. Tulasī Dāsa's work was the *first* attempt to give to his countrymen a Rāmāyaṇa in their own vernacular. He can gain nothing by saying that *his* version is authoritative because it is based on a certain Rāmāyaṇa by Śambhu or Śiva. He had no rivals in the field, and he does not mean that his book is better than others. He only refers to two authors whose works are standard authorities on the subject—the Rāmāyaṇa of Sukavi Vālmiki and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, which is said to be based on a conversation between Śambhu and his consort Pārvatī, this latter book being to the Vaiṣṇava what the Bible is to the Christian and the Qur'ān is to the Muhammadan. But the editors ignore the Sanskrit verses, which appear in *all* editions of the Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa. In these verses Tulasī Dāsa pays homage in the first instance to the authors of the various Rāmāyaṇas after the usual invocation of Sarasvatī and Gaṇeśa, and includes among them his own guru, as the immediate source of his knowledge of the story. I take up these verses in order, omitting the first:

भवानीशंकरो वन्दे अद्वाविश्वासरूपिणौ ।

याभ्यां विना न पश्यन्ति सिद्धाः स्वान्तःस्थमीश्वरम् ॥

(i, 2)

Growse's translation—

“I reverence Bhawānī and Śaṅkara, the incarnation of faith and hope, without whom not even the just can see God, the Great Spirit.” These are, I need hardly say, the authors of the Adhyātma, the Umā-Maheśvara Saṁvāda.

वन्दे बोधमयं नित्यं गुरुं शंकररूपिणम् ।
यमाश्रितो हि वक्रोऽपि चन्द्रः सर्वत्र वन्द्यते ॥

(i, 3)

Growse's translation—

“I reverence, as the incarnation of Śaṅkara, the all-wise Guru, through whom even the crescent moon is everywhere honoured.” With all my imperfect knowledge of English I would submit that the word “crescent” here conveys very imperfectly the idea of the original वक्र, crooked, and “through whom” is hardly an equivalent for आश्रित, dependent. The “crooked” and therefore bad article is Tulasi Dāsa himself, who is, as he says in the Kavittāvalī,

जाति के कुजाति के सुजाति के पेटागि बस
खाये टूक सब के विदित बात दुनी सो ।
मानस बचन काय किये पाप सतिभाय
राम को कहाय दास दगाबाज पुनी सो ।
रामनाम को प्रभाउ पाउ महिमा प्रताप
तुलसी सो जग मानियत महामुनी सो ।

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(vii, 72)

“It is a well-known fact that I have eaten (and thereby degraded myself) the pieces of bread given to me by men of my caste, by men of castes inferior to mine and superior to mine. Calling myself a votary of the Lord I have in all sincerity committed sins by mind, word, and deed. Yet the glory of the holy name of Rāma is so great that Tulasi is regarded by the world as a great sage.” Here Tulasi Dāsa ascribes his greatness to his being an आश्रित of his Guru. The Guru, as I have said above, is

the immediate source of Tulasī Dāsa's knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa.

सीतारामगुणग्रामपुष्पारण्यविहारिणौ ।
वन्दे विशुद्धविज्ञानौ कवीश्वरकपीश्वरौ ॥

(i, 4)

“I reverence the king of bards and the monkey king, of pure intelligence, who ever lingered in delight in the holy forest land of Rāma and Sītā's infinite perfection.”

The गुणग्राम is another way of expressing their authorship of Rāmāyaṇa. Kaviśwara is Vālmiki whose work is the first Rāmāyaṇa, and the king of monkeys is the reputed author of the Hanuman-nāṭaka, a favourite book with Vaiṣṇavas, which in its modern shape has been very much disfigured by interpolations. The author then proceeds to salute Sītā and Rāma, and sums up the sources of his information in the last Sanskrit verse—

नानापुराणनिगमागमसम्मतं यद्
रामायणे निगदितं क्वचिदन्यतोऽपि ।
स्वान्तःसुखाय तुलसी रघुनाथगाथा-
भाषानिबन्धमतिमञ्जुलमातनोति ॥

(i, 7)

Growse's translation—

“In accord with all the Purāṇas and different sacred texts, and with what has been recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa and elsewhere, I, Tulasī, to gratify my own heart's desire, have composed these lays of Raghunātha in most choice elegant modern speech.”

The Rāmāyaṇa alluded to may be the work of Vālmiki or it may also be the Adhyātma. Of the “elsewheres” one is the Prasanna Rāghava, popularly supposed to have been written by Jayadēva, the author of the Gītagovinda, who also, like Tulasī Dāsa, was a great *Bhakta* of the Lord. Jayadeva preceded Tulasī Dāsa by several centuries, and Tulasī Dāsa need not be ashamed of borrowing

a passage or two from a book much in request among Vaiṣṇavas of his time, which was believed to have been composed by a famous Vaiṣṇava. One of these passages is the conversation between Rāvaṇa and Sītā in the Sundara Kāṇḍa. I quote it *in extenso*. The verses of Tulasī Dāsa (V, ix, 4 ff.) are given on the left and extracts from Jayadeva's work, Act vi (p. 152 of Poona edition, 1894), to the right.

कह रावनु सुनु सुमुखि सयानी । मन्दोदरी आदि सब रानी ॥ तव अनुचरी करउँ पन मोरा । एक वार बिलोकु मम ओरा ॥	रावणः । मां जीवय नयनामृतेन . . . मन्दोदरीमपि विमुञ्चति राज्यमेत- दप्युन्मदं तव पदाब्जतले करोति । . . .
. . . कहति बैदेही ।	सीताः ।
सुनु दसमुख खद्योतप्रकासा । कवउँ कि नलिनी करइ बिकासा ॥	यदि खद्योतभासापि समुन्मीलति पद्मिनी ।
आपुहि सुनि खद्योतसम रामहिँ भानुसमान । परुष वचन सुनि काढि असि बोला अति खिसियान ॥ सीता तैं मम कृत अपमाना । कटिहउँ तव सिर कठिन कृपाना ॥ नाहिँ त सपदि मानु मम बानी । सुमुखि होत न त जीवनहानी ॥ खाम सरोज दाम सम सुन्दर । प्रभुभुज करिकर सम दसकंधर ॥ सो भुज कंठ कि तव असि घोरा । सुनु सठ अस प्रमान पन मोरा ॥ चन्द्रहास हर मम परितापं । रघुपति विरह अनल संजातं ॥ सीतल निसि तव असि वर धारा । कह सीता हर मम दुखभारा ॥	रावणः । आः पापे! यावत्किल तपनखद्यो- तयोस्तावदन्तरं रामरावणयोः । तदियं हन्यसे । (इति खड्गमुत्पा- टयति) । . . . तदिदानीमपि दशकण्ठभुजाश्लेषभे- षजमनुजानीहि । . . . सीता । रघुपतिभुजदण्डादुत्पलश्याम- कान्तेर्दशमुख भवदीयान् निष्कृ- पाद्वा कृपाणात् । . . . चन्द्रहास हर मे परितापं रामचन्द्रविरहानलजातम् ॥ त्वं हि . . . धारया वहसि शीतलमम्भः

Of the last four lines the first is evidently Jayadeva's. In the second of these रघुपति has been put in for Rāmacandra and सं added to complete the verse. In the fourth line "(cold) water", the attributive of Jayadeva, has been omitted as useless, and in the third the words "cold night" have been substituted by Tulasī Dāsa without much reason. Jayadeva's metaphor has been maintained in his verse. He would extinguish the fire by cold water (शीतलमम्भः). Tulasī Dāsa's "cold night" (सीतल निशि) is unpoetic. A cold night in Hindi poetry does not bring comfort. Yet the Sanskrit Rāmacarita Mānasa has copied not only the beauties but the faults of Tulasī Dāsa also, and made it worse by adding a निशित (sharp) after निशा.

This conversation does not occur either in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki or in the Adhyātma. If, therefore, the claims of the Sanskrit Rāmacarita Mānasa hold water the first plagiarist would be Jayadeva. We are not in possession of the date of this extraordinary work, but it is incredible that both Jayadeva and Tulasī Dāsa would borrow without acknowledging from a little-known work which has been raked up from oblivion in Etawah. I would in all sincerity advise the editors to consign it again to the abyss of oblivion, and assure them that readers of Tulasī Dāsa refuse to be startled with the revelation that the melodious verses of Tulasī Dāsa are but literal translations of a Sanskrit original.

SĪTĀ RĀM.

ALLAHABAD.

November 13, 1913.

LES GROTTE DES MILLE BOUDDHAS

J'ai lu en son temps la note du JRAS. de juillet 1913 (pp. 696-8), où Mr. F. Legge contestait qu'on connût un évêché babylonien de Kaškar autrement que par les *Acta Archelai*. C'est moi qui avais signalé à Mr. Denison Ross la rectification dont Mr. Legge n'admet pas le bien-fondé.

En l'absence de Mr. Ross, permettez-moi donc de renvoyer les lecteurs de votre *Journal* à n'importe quel manuel de littérature syriaque ou, s'ils le préfèrent, au *Synodicon orientale* publié en 1902 par M. Chabot. Ils y verront que l'évêché de Kaškar, correspondant à l'actuel Al-Wasit entre Bagdad et Bassora, a toujours joui, dans l'église nestorienne, d'une célébrité spéciale et d'une situation privilégiée. Le texte même de M. Cumont qu'invoque Mr. Legge eût dû le mettre en garde, car on comprend que Théodore bar Koni ait pu savoir le mandéen si son Kaškar était dans le bassin du bas Euphrate, au lieu qu'il serait absurde de parler de mandéen pour la région de Kašgar au Turkestan chinois.

Je voudrais aussi dire quelques mots à propos de la note de Mr. Amedroz qui précède celle de Mr. Legge, et où il s'agit des manuscrits trouvés dans les grottes de Touen-houang. Que la grotte aux manuscrits ait été fermée au xi^e ou au xiv^e siècle, je vous prie de croire qu'à Sir Aurel Stein comme à moi-même, cela nous est, en tant qu'hommes, bien indifférent. Nous nous sommes trouvés en présence d'une situation de fait; nous avons cherché quelle était l'hypothèse qui pouvait le mieux rendre compte de cette situation; la vérité nous a seule importé dans le passé, comme elle nous importe seule dans le présent. Or les faits, les voici.

En 1900, une cachette de manuscrits est découverte par hasard, en un coin perdu où nul érudit indigène ne se trouve passer pendant plusieurs années. Sir Aurel Stein achète en bloc une partie de la trouvaille en 1907; j'en prélève un autre lot en 1908. Sur mon conseil, à la fin de 1909 ou tout au début de 1910, le gouvernement chinois fait ramener à Pékin tout ce que je n'ai pas emporté.

Ces manuscrits sont rédigés dans les écritures et les langues les plus diverses, mais Sir Aurel Stein est indianiste; je suis sinologue; nous savons l'un et l'autre notre métier.

L'antiquité manifeste des manuscrits en écriture indienne frappe Sir A. Stein ; les manuscrits chinois me fournissent immédiatement des repères certains. Dès le premier jour, je suis en présence de plusieurs rouleaux dont le type d'écriture est forcément antérieur au vii^e siècle ; je trouve aussi des textes que je sais disparus en Chine dès le xi^e. Mais il y a plus. Beaucoup de manuscrits sont datés : toutes les dates s'arrêtent au seuil du xi^e siècle. Pour les époques antérieures, cette bibliothèque ne renferme guère que de vrais ouvrages, appartenant d'ailleurs à toutes les branches de la littérature ; mais pour le x^e siècle, je recueille en abondance des pièces éphémères, comptes, baux, actes de ventes, notes journalières, autant de documents détachés que leur nature même vouait à une prompt disparition. Enfin, alors que manuscrits proprement dits et pièces détachées sont emballés et ficelés, je ramasse hors des liasses non plus un rouleau, mais un cahier ouïgour, entremêlé de caractères chinois, et d'une écriture qui, malgré le peu d'expérience que nous avons alors de la paléographie turque, me paraît vraisemblablement plus tardive. Or il y a, tout au nord de ces grottes dont la décoration même s'arrête au x^e siècle, une petite série de grottes lamaïques aménagées à l'époque mongole. Deux d'entre elles ont été déblayées récemment par le moine. Je dégage les autres, et, sur le sol, je recueille, au milieu de fragments divers, *si-hia* et autres, un cahier ouïgour du même type que celui que j'ai trouvé dans la grotte aux manuscrits hors des liasses. Dès lors, mon opinion était faite : le moine, en déblayant les grottes de l'époque mongole, avait négligé les fragments, mais avait trouvé, lui aussi, un cahier complet qu'il avait joint à la grosse masse des manuscrits découverts en 1900. Parmi les milliers de textes qui me sont alors passés par les mains, je ne trouvais aucune date postérieure au début du xi^e siècle. Nous savions par ailleurs que les Si-hia s'étaient emparés de Touen-houang—à un an près—en 1035. Les

Si-hia s'étaient en outre créé une écriture nationale; or aucun spécimen d'écriture *si-hia* ne figurait dans nos manuscrits. C'est pourquoi j'ai proposé alors de placer en 1035, au moment de l'invasion *si-hia*, la fermeture de la cachette par les moines épouvantés. Indépendamment, Sir A. Stein, que je n'avais pas vu, avec qui je n'avais pas correspondu, datait du *xie* siècle le murage de la grotte. Les mêmes faits nous avaient très simplement amenés aux mêmes conclusions.

Ces conclusions, des faits nouveaux nous obligent-ils à les modifier? Je ne le crois pas. Mr. Amedroz veut tirer des récits de voyage de Sir A. Stein que la grotte était si pleine qu'il n'y avait plus place pour y ajouter quelques minces cahiers. En vérité, est-ce sérieux? Et à qui fera-t-on bien admettre l'idée de ce bourrage hermétique? Jamais Sir A. Stein n'a pensé, jamais il n'a rien dit de pareil. S'il fallait cependant opposer un texte à Mr. Amedroz, je lui ferai respectueusement observer qu'un espace libre "for two people to stand in" suffit pour loger quelques "loose documents".

Lorsque Mr. Denison Ross me fit connaître le colophon du manuscrit ouigour de 1350, c'est moi encore qui lui signalai le cas de mes deux textes similaires recueillis l'un dans la grotte aux manuscrits hors des liasses, et l'autre dans les déblais de la grotte mongole; et je lui suggérai que sans doute le manuscrit de Sir A. Stein avait été, comme le mien, apporté dans la grotte par le moine depuis 1900. Mr. Amedroz suppose que Sir A. Stein ne manquerait pas aujourd'hui de reprendre la question, et pourrait bien arriver, pour la date de la fermeture, à une autre conclusion que celle qu'il avait admise jusqu'ici. Je suis en mesure de le renseigner. Avant de venir à Paris, où pour la première fois il me parla du colophon de 1350, Mr. Denison Ross en avait écrit à Sir A. Stein. La réponse lui parvint des Indes quand la note parue dans votre *Journal* était déjà sous presse.

Dans cette réponse, datée du 2 février 1913, Sir A. Stein faisait remarquer que la date de 1350 n'aurait d'importance pour la fermeture de la grotte que s'il était sûr que le manuscrit eût fait partie du dépôt original. Et Sir A. Stein ajoute : " On this point unfortunately some doubt remains in my mind because the bound Uighur booklets were not found by me mixed up in the usual bundles of Chinese texts, etc., but lying loose on the top of what I remember looked like one open assortment of miscellaneous stuff brought out by the Tao-shih from his cave." Autrement dit, une fois de plus, les circonstances de fait se révélaient conformes à l'hypothèse que mes expériences personnelles m'avaient amené à formuler.

Naturellement, il ne s'agit pas de dire que la présence d'un document de 1350 vienne à l'appui de la fermeture en 1035; mais de cette présence nous pouvons rendre compte. Si j'écarte toute solution différente, ce n'est pas que j'aie contre elle aucune prévention, mais parce qu'elle me paraît se heurter à des difficultés insurmontables. De nombreux textes provenant de Touen-houang ont été publiés depuis 1908 à Londres, à Paris, et surtout en Chine et au Japon. Tous les manuscrits rapportés à Pékin ont été examinés par les érudits chinois et par une mission de savants japonais spécialistes de l'histoire et de la littérature chinoises; tous ces savants se sont ralliés à nos conclusions. Si on veut faire descendre au-dessous du xi^e siècle la fermeture de la grotte, comment expliquer l'hiatus de trois cents ans qui sépare les derniers documents des environs de l'an 1000 et les deux ou trois textes du xiv^e siècle? Comment justifier la présence des innombrables pièces comptables qui ne commencent guère avant l'an 900 et s'arrêtent brusquement vers l'an 1000? Comment admettre que tant de textes aient été encore usuels à Touen-houang vers 1350, quand toute la Chine les considérait comme perdus depuis plus de trois siècles? Enfin, quand les quelques grottes de l'époque mongole

fournissaient en abondance des documents *si-hia*, quand les visiteurs Si-hia ont tracé nombre de *graffiti* sur les parois des grottes demeurées accessibles, comment justifier, parmi ces milliers de manuscrits qui sont aujourd'hui à Londres, à Paris et à Pékin, l'absence du moindre spécimen de cette littérature *si-hia* qui, du *xi^e* au *xiv^e* siècle, posséda la plupart des classiques chinois et à peu près tout le *canon* bouddhique ?

P. PELLIOU.

CAVES OF A THOUSAND BUDDHAS

The above remarks ignore the fact that the document bearing the date A.D. 1350 is depicted on plate No. 192 of Sir A. Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (facing p. 180 of vol. ii), where it is marked "4". The document constitutes good *prima facie* evidence that its date is the remotest point assignable for the walling up of the repository, and to rebut this something more is needed than an *ipse dixit*.

H. F. AMEDROZ.

CAVES OF A THOUSAND BUDDHAS

I gladly note that it is M. Pelliot who was responsible for the so-called correction for which Mr. Denison Ross stood godfather. When accusations of "grosses inexactitudes"¹ are flying about, it is only fair that one should know their real author.

Thanks, doubtless, to a want of perfect familiarity with our language, M. Pelliot makes me say something I did not say. He taxes me in effect with denying that we had any knowledge of a Babylonian bishopric of Kaškar otherwise than through the *Acta Archelai*, my contention

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, sér. xi, tom. i, No. 1, p. 100, n. 1.

being (*vide* JRAS. 1913, pp. 697-8) that there was no record of any place in Babylonia likely to be called Kaškar when Bar Khōni wrote, i.e. in the year A.D. 792. The last witness that M. Pelliot calls into court goes some way towards proving my point. In M. Chabot's *Synodicon Orientale*, to which he refers me, there are indeed frequent references to bishops of Kaškar, which diocese occupied a distinguished position in the Nestorian Church, its incumbent being once spoken of as the right arm (read suffragan or coadjutor) of the Catholicos. There is even mention of a bishop of Kaškar named Theodore. But this cannot possibly be Bar Khōni, for the synod at which he of Kaškar attended was called in 605, or 187 years before Bar Khōni says that he wrote. On the other hand, when recording the last synod in the book (p. 518), the author thinks it necessary to explain that "Quant à Kaškar, c'est cette Delasar qui formait dans l'antiquité depuis des siècles le royaume de Bat Senn'ar au témoignage du fils d'Amram", and that there were even at an earlier date Nestorian bishops of places in Turkestan. M. Pelliot himself points out that Kaškar is now called Al Wasit "entre Bagdad et Bassora", and a town of that name is mentioned by Al Bīrūnī who wrote in A.D. 1000. As Bassora was founded by the Moslems immediately after the Arab conquest in 636, it is unlikely that Kaškar would be allowed to retain its former name much after that event; and therefore Bar Khōni, if he had had occasion to mention it, would probably have called it Al Wasit.

M. Pelliot's remarks about the language are, of course, beside the point. If Mandaite were the native tongue of Bar Khōni he would probably write in it, no matter in what country he was "Doctor" or Bishop. So Cardinal Lavigerie's Algerian successor probably writes in French and the (Anglican) Bishop of Jerusalem in English.

F. LEGGE.

NOTES ON "LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS PAR
AUREL STEIN DANS LES SABLES DU TURKESTAN
ORIENTAL", BY ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES

The last sentence of the Preface of this work (reviewed in another part of the Journal) runs: "Je me suis rendu compte mieux que personne des risques que j'encourais en assumant la tâche que M. Stein m'avait dévolue; aussi n'est-ce point par présomption que je m'en suis acquitté; j'ai simplement fait ce que j'ai pu et je me réjouirai de toutes les rectifications qui seront proposées par les érudits soucieux de collaborer au développement de nos connaissances sinologiques."

These truly modest and scientific words encourage me to offer the following suggestions noted down on my way through the pages of this invaluable work.

Document No. 37. The character doubtfully identified by M. Chavannes as 奉 *féng* in this and Nos. 65, 115, 117, 140, 598, and 705, is, I feel confident, 承 *ch'éng*, though the author has, on the whole, decided against it. The term 承 弦 *ch'éng hsien* would seem to signify "cord-holder", but the exact object meant remains obscure.

No. 64. I suggest, instead of "(arbalète) . . . présentant sur la droite une ébréchure ancienne" for the characters 傷 右 古 一 所 *shang yu ku i so*, the rendering "having the right side (lit. thigh) damaged". I suppose that the character 古 has been carelessly written for the vulgar form 肉 *jou*, plus 古 *ku*, rightly written 股 *ku*.

No. 67. Instead of "Le soldat de (la compagnie) Ling-hou (nommé) K'ouan Mien, le jour *Ki-mao* sortira de la barrière", for 凌 胡 卒 寬 免 以 己 卯 日 出 塞 I suggest "The men of the Ling Hu Company are excused from leaving the Barrier on the day *Ki-mao*".

No. 91. I believe the peculiar character which M. Chavannes concludes on the whole must be 起 *ch'i* is really 走 *tsou* both here and in all the other cases where

the same scripton is found, e.g. in Nos. 92 (twice), 93, 155, 158, 397.

Hence, instead of "Le jour *Keng-wu* . . . dans le service on ne travaillera plus à la délimitation. Le jour *Keng-wu*, Ko Heou," where the author says the last two words appear to be the name of the officer giving the order (葛 候), I suggest reading "Starting from the day *Kéng-wu*, no delimitation work will be carried out. On the day *Kéng-wu* there will be relief from look-out duty". This involves substituting 歇 *hsieh*, for 葛 *Ko*, perhaps written in error.

No. 92. Besides the above-mentioned 走 *tsou* for 起 *ch'i*, I am sure the character here transcribed as 覓 *mi*, to seek, is really 負 *fu*, to carry on the back. Hence, instead of "ont été chercher" I suggest "have carried on their backs, etc." The same change should be made in Nos. 95, 96, 225. In No. 280 M. Chavannes, in fact, has transcribed this character as *fu*. Also "155 *li*" should be "455 *li*".

No. 136. I think that the last six characters in the sentence 奉書行事下當用者如詔, which M. Chavannes renders "Dès que vous aurez reçu cette lettre, agissez en conséquence, et dans la conduite que vous aurez à tenir ultérieurement, conformez-vous au texte de l'édit impérial", really mean "Issue to those under your control orders as directed by the Edict". Similarly in Nos. 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 291, 450.

No. 158. Reading here also 走 *tsou* for M. Chavannes 起 *ch'i*, I propose instead of his wording "Keng Kouang . . . sera un homme dispensé de service" (不起人) to render the passage "K. K. has not marched out any men". I suggest also that 田何候 *T'ien Ho Hou* is not "le nom de l'officier qui donne cet ordre", but means the T'ien Ho watch-tower.

No. 199. The words 所坐不同 *so tso pu t'ung* left untranslated by M. Chavannes seem to be "the punishments incurred are not the same".

No. 255. The two characters left blank before 到官 *tao kuan*, "est arrivé à son poste," are 乙酉 *i yu*, "on the day *i yu*."

No. 263. This ends with the words 戌令積浦八人完爲城旦, which give occasion for a most valuable note by the author. He translates the passage "le chef des soldats (nommé?) *Tsi-pou*; huit hommes sont condamnés aux travaux forcés en conservant l'intégrité de leur corps". I suggest that 浦 *p'u*, river-bank, is carelessly written for 捕 *pu*, to arrest, and that we should translate "the officer arrested altogether eight men who, etc."

No. 307. On the reverse side the only characters are 兵完折傷蒲, "List of arms perfect, broken, and damaged," instead of the author's "Liste des objets endommagés parmi les armes de guerre" (as corrected in the Errata). But the obverse differs in the equivalent passage by having a word inserted between the characters 完 and 折, otherwise the text is the same. This extra character M. Chavannes has transcribed as 望 *wang*, to face towards, reading the original as the variant composed of 臣 *ch'én* plus 月 *yueh* plus 王 *t'ing*. It would be impossible to understand the passage if *wang* were really present. But I am confident the character is 堅 *chien*, strong, and this gives excellent sense, the obverse then reading, "List of arms perfect, in good condition, broken, and damaged at Tu Tsien tu, etc.", evidently four categories. It only requires a supplementary column as to "wooden cases for same" to remind us of our own War Office Returns.

No. 345. The 8th character of line 2 of the obverse, and the 7th of line 1 of the reverse, appear to me to be the same. But in the first case the translator transcribes it as 無 *wu*, not, and in the second as 甚 *shén*.

No. 398. The 1st character is misprinted, and should be 政 *chéng*, as should the 1st of the 6th column. I also

suggest that 政得長奉聞 at the head of the latter column, instead of being rendered "Moi, Tcheng, je peux toujours vous informer", should be "I have long had the honour of hearing [how strictly you bring up your family]".

No. 418. I suggest that 付養卒 *fu yang tsu* means "handed to the cook of the detachment", rather than "remis pour la nourriture du soldat, etc."

No. 429. In this calendar I have been able to decipher the following terms in the cramped scrawl which M. Chavannes has not noted. On the obverse, in the second register, 2nd line, the first two blank characters in the transcript are, 初伏 *ch'u fu*, the first hot spell of ten days, the second two blanks are 中伏 *chung fu*, the middle hot spell. In the 3rd line the transcriber prints three blanks at the end, but I believe there are really only two characters, the last of which is certainly 伏 *fu*. We may safely insert 末 *mo* above it, thus reconstructing what is required, viz. 末伏 *mo fu*, the last hot spell, but I will not pretend that on the plate I can make out the former character. The last two characters left blank in line 4 are 秋分 *ch'iu fên*, the autumnal equinox. On the reverse side, in line 1, the characters 十三 *Shih san*, thirteenth, should be 廿三 *erh-shih san*, twenty-third, and 甲寅 *chia yin*, should be 甲子 *chia tzü*. In line 3, for the last five blank spaces left by M. Chavannes, I read (after 十 *shih*, tenth) the characters 日庚戌冬至 *jih kêng hsü tung chih*, "(tenth) day, *kêng hsü*, winter solstice," but the last character is actually illegible.

No. 430. The 1st character, judging by what is still visible, and as suspected by M. Chavannes, must be 元 *yuan*. It cannot be 太 *t'ai*. Consequently this fragment must date from A.D. 4 instead of 94 B.C. So also, in No. 593, I agree with M. Chavannes that the 1st character is 元 *yuan*.

No. 452. In the term *t'o-t'o*, camel, the 2nd character

is written 他 [sic] in the original, not 他, as in the transcription.

No. 460. I believe the last four characters are 以亭次行 *i t'ing tz'ü hsing*, not 不行 *pu hsing*, as transcribed. If I am right, the translation requires altering to "to visit the stations in order", in place of "c'est pourquoi le (bataillon du) *t'ing* n'est pas parti".

M. Chavannes in his note on this specimen corroborates the use of 吉羊 for 吉祥 *chi hsiang*, auspicious, from Han texts. It is common on the Honan bones also.

No. 467. The characters transcribed 然大丈夫 should surely be 然土大夫 *jan t'u ta fu*. The 12th character in the 2nd line, left blank, appears to be an abbreviated variant of 憂 *yu*, to grieve, which is given in Couvreur's Dictionary.

No. 494. "300 pièces de monnaie" should be "3,000".

No. 524. A Chinese medical prescription nearly 2,000 years old is not exactly easy, and M. Chavannes gives a translation which he styles "fort hypothétique". I can only tinker at it, but venture on the following suggested emendations. In line 1 I read the 1st and 18th characters as the same, and neither 股 *ku*, thigh, as transcribed in the first instance, nor 脈 *mé*, pulse, as in the second, but 服 *fu*, to swallow, in both. In line 2, instead of 滿 *man*, full, for the 16th word, I read *ni*, an uncommon character formed of *shui*, water, plus the phonetic of 逆 *ni*, to oppose, and equivalent to the latter. The text of this passage will then be 服之廿日徵下三十日腹中母積胸中不復手足不逆通利, etc. Accordingly, in place of the author's translation from the words, "On lui a tâté le poulx pendant vingt jours. Le trentième jour du traitement, le ventre n'a plus de constipation, mais dans la poitrine l'ordre n'est pas rétabli; les mains et les pieds ne fonctionnent pas parfaitement," I propose the following: "After taking the medicine for 20 days, the effects appear (徵下 *ch'éng hsia*); after the 30th

day the bowels are not constipated; there is no nausea of the stomach; the hands and feet are no longer not under control; there is a general improvement."

No. 525. Another and a worse prescription. The 4th character is not, I think, 逆 *ni*, but one with the same radical *plus* 羊 *yang* as phonetic. Kanghsi gives the sound as *yang* and defines it as "the action of advancing and retreating". Perhaps, then, *yang hsiung* means "palpitations of the breast". The 9th character is certainly not 心 *hsin*, heart. It seems to be 止 *chih*, to stop, and 止泄 *chih hsieh* may possibly be "to check diarrhoea".

No. 527. The second of the two characters left blank is 絕 *chüeh*, to cut off. The original of the 5th of the transcribed characters is, I think, certainly not 散 *san*, but some compound with the same phonetic as 穀 *ku*, grain, but what it can be I cannot discover. I suggest that the last two characters, 亭磨 *t'ing mo*, mean "stops (停 *t'ing*) the aching or pain".

No. 537. Obverse, line 2. The last two characters, not transcribed by M. Chavannes, I read 大寒 *ta han*, "the Great Cold," Solar term (about January 21).

No. 573. The 1st character, 息 *hsi*, is omitted in the transcript, as is another, which I cannot decipher, before 稱 *ch'êng*.

No. 596. The character at the top and on the left, which the author could not determine, seems to be 受 *shou*, to receive.

No. 607. The last three characters of line 2 are left blank in the transcript. The two latter are 幸甚 *hsin shên*, "very good news" or "fortunate indeed!" The preceding character is identical with the 6th of the transcript, read 可 *k'o* by the author. I do not think this can be so. It looks rather more like 奇 *ch'i*, unusual. The character transcribed 聞 *wên*, to hear, is 官 *kuan*, official. In view of the last words, *hsin shên*, the

transcription of 訃 *fu*, announcement of mourning, for the character following *kuan* seems difficult to accept.

No. 670. Here, again, I feel sure the character transcribed 起 *ch'i* by the author is 走 *tsou*, and the four words 定日徼走 will then mean "(list of) days fixed for going on tours of inspection". This text is not translated by the author.

No. 671. In a note to this specimen M. Chavannes, referring to a passage in the Shuo Wen, renders the words 母猴 *mu hou* by "les singes femelles". It is very natural to so render them, but it is an error. They mean only a monkey, male or female. Other ways of writing what must, I presume, be, or have been, some non-Chinese name, are 沐猴 *mu hou*, 獼猴 *mi hou*, and in modern times, 馬猴 *ma hou*. See Tuan Yü-ts'ai's edition of the Shuo Wen, under the word 嚙 *nao* (in its 198th radical), except as to *ma hou*, which is from another author.

No. 727. Here, I think, the *wu nien*, 5th year, of the transcript is in the original 元年 *yuan nien*, 1st year.

No. 728. In line 2 of Face A the character transcribed 起 *ch'i* is certainly that and not 走 *tsou*. So also in No. 740. Are we to suppose, then, that in the previous instances noted *tsou* was used as a mere abbreviation of *ch'i*? Or did usage differ in the Han and the Tsin dynasties, to the latter of which these two examples belong?

No. 754. The words 謹案文書前至樓蘭, here rendered "Je constate avec respect ceci ; la lettre officielle a été envoyé auparavant à *Leou-lan*", should surely be, as previously in No. 750 the first four were, translated, "avec respect, conformément au texte écrit", and then continue "(Sie Ming) s'est rendu à *Leou-lan*, etc."

No. 758. The character transcribed 及 *jén* is, I suggest, 及 *chi*.

No. 768. Line 3, after 書 *shu*, the same character is repeated in the original but omitted in the transcript.

No. 804. The character on Face B, left blank in the transcript, I read 黃 *huang*, yellow.

No. 932. In line 3, for 來 *lai*, come, read 年 *nien*, years.

No. 964. In line 4, for 桑 *sang* read 幸 *hsing*.

No. 967. I suggest that 張 *chang* may not be a man's name here, but a numerative referring to the purse or purses in question.

No. 969. Line 16 of this curious Buddhist temple account contains the passage 又請掏山水渠鄉原沽酒. Of this the author gives as a "hypothetical translation" the following: "pour acheter du vin destiné à la population de *T'ao chan choui k'iu* et de *Hiang-yuan*." I suggest it should run, "to buy wine after requesting the digging out of the hill canals and the village springs." Similarly in line 17.

In line 21, instead of the character printed in the transcript as a compound of 工 *kung* plus 凡 *fan*, which M. Chavannes in note 7 on p. 212 thinks may perhaps mean a potter, I suggest with some confidence that in the first instance the character is 瓦 *wa*, tile, and that 瓦匠 *wa Chiang* here used is a potter. In the second example I read 缸 *kang* the familiar "water-kong" or large jar, now written 缸.

No. 970. Line 3. I suggest that 廚子家欽 is rather "the cook (*ch'u-tzŭ-chia*) K'in" than "(au) cuisinier *kia-k'in*". Line 16. Here and in No. 971, line 11, the fruit romanized by the author as *wén-tch'e* should be 榲桲 *wén p'o*, probably that of *Crataegus pinnatifida*, according to Bretschneider, *Botanicon Sinicum*, p. 302. The character is here written with 木 *mu* plus 勃 *p'o*, and not as in the transcript.

No. 971. The remedy "*a-wei*" of line 10 is asafoetida.

L. C. HOPKINS.

FURTHER LIGHT UPON THE SUMERIAN LANGUAGE

In the Journal of this Society for 1884, p. 301, under the title of "Observations upon the languages of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia", I gave a few details concerning the non - Semitic Sumerian (then called Akkadian) tongue used in early Babylonia. The points dealt with were the polyphony of the characters, the many homophones, the nominal and verbal compounds, the numerals, showing their composition, the case-endings (postpositions) of the nouns, and the prefixed pronouns and their postpositional infixes which form such a characteristic of the Sumerian verb. About fifty of these verbal particles were given, but in the present state of our knowledge they could be greatly increased.

One of the main objects of the paper in question was to attempt to analyse the groups of particles, and to show that, in addition to the 1st and 3rd persons, the 2nd person could also be, and was, expressed, the most noteworthy being the syllable *e*, "thou," "thee" (p. 323), though this was sometimes hidden in some other particle (the example given was *munnašub* for *muenā[šub]*). Other particles expressing the 2nd person, it was pointed out, were *ib* and *ba*,¹ whilst the 1st person was sometimes expressed by *a* (in the prefixed group *aran-*).

Since the publication of those "Observations" more elaborate treatises upon Sumerian grammar have appeared, notably the late George Bertin's "Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian (=Sumerian) Pronouns" the following year (JRAS. xvii, pt. i), and his Sumero-Akkadian Grammar (Trübner's Simplified Grammars, 1888). A notice of Professor Langdon's Sumerian Grammar was published here in January, 1912. The latest upon the subject of the verbal prefixes and infixes, however, is M. Fr. Thureau-Dangin's "Un Texte Grammatical Sumérien" in the

¹ "Thou," "thee," "thy," are also expressed by *zu* and *za*, the usual root.

Revue d'Assyriologie, 1914, pp. 48-53. As a purely grammatical tablet, this is one of the oldest in existence, being apparently "anterior to the time of Hammurabi". As it is short, I give here the transcription and translation of the whole, according to M. Thureau-Dangin's copy:—

<i>Te</i> - <i>a</i> - <i>na</i>	<i>Te</i> - <i>hi</i> - <i>šum</i>	Approach him.
<i>i[n]</i> - <i>na</i> - <i>te</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>en</i>	[<i>te-et-hi</i>] <i>i</i> - <i>š[u]</i> - <i>u[m]</i>	Thou hast approached him.
<i>in</i> - <i>na</i> - <i>te</i> - <i>en</i>	<i>e</i> - <i>et</i> - <i>hi</i> - <i>šum</i>	I approached him.
<i>na-an-na-te-ga-[de]-en</i>	<i>la te-te-hi</i> - <i>š[um]</i>	do not approach him.
<i>nam-ma-te-ga-de-en</i>	[<i>l</i>] <i>a te-te-hi-a-am</i>	do not approach me.
<i>nu-mu-[r]a-te-ga-de-en</i>	<i>u-la e-te-hi-a-kum</i>	I will not approach thee.
<i>ba</i> - <i>an</i> - <i>na</i> - <i>te</i>	<i>i</i> - <i>te</i> - <i>hi</i> - <i>šum</i>	he will approach him.
<i>ba</i> - <i>an</i> - <i>na</i> - <i>te</i> - <i>en</i>	<i>e</i> - <i>te</i> - <i>hi</i> - <i>šum</i>	I will approach him.
<i>in</i> - <i>na</i> - <i>te</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>en</i>	<i>te</i> - <i>it</i> - <i>hi</i> - <i>šum</i>	thou hast approached him.
<i>in</i> - <i>da</i> - <i>ga</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>en</i>	<i>ta</i> - <i>ša</i> - <i>ka</i> - <i>aš-um</i>	thou settest for him.

REVERSE

<i>gub</i> - <i>ba</i>	<i>i</i> - <i>zi</i> - <i>iz</i>	stand.
<i>ga</i> - <i>gub</i>	<i>lu</i> - <i>zi</i> - <i>iz</i>	let me stand.
<i>he</i> - <i>gub</i>	<i>li</i> - <i>zi</i> - <i>iz</i>	let him stand.
<i>al</i> - <i>gub</i>	<i>i</i> - <i>za</i> - <i>az</i>	he stands.
<i>al</i> - <i>gub</i> - <i>bi</i> - <i>en</i>	<i>a</i> - <i>za</i> - <i>az</i>	I stand.
<i>nu</i> - <i>gub</i>	<i>u</i> - <i>la</i> <i>i</i> - <i>za</i> - <i>az</i>	he stands not.

As M. Thureau-Dangin points out, the principal interest of the tablet is the distinction which it establishes between the three personal pronouns. But the Sumerian verb, be it noted, is impersonal in its character, and each pronominal element could serve for any of the others, like *on* in French and *one* in English. To this may also be added the probability that we have, in Sumerian, a language which had not a definitely-fixed series of

pronouns such as the majority of known languages possess, but a number of pronominal particles arrested half-way, and capable of being used either as demonstratives—their original force—or as pronouns. Owing to this, they are naturally wanting in that precision which attaches to pronominal particles which have finished their development.

The following are the examples of the infix *e* expressing the 2nd person which I noted thirty years ago:—

1. *um-ta-e-zi* = *tassuḫa*, thou removedst therefrom (WAI. iv, 22, 10–11).
2. *šu-ba-e-ri-ti* = *likī-ma*, take then (WAI. iv, 27, 2–16).
3. *in-ga-e-zu* = *tīdī*, thou knowest (WAI. iv, 22, 7).

To these M. Thureau-Dangin has been able to make a number of additions, both from old and recent sources, and he shows that *e* was used not only as subject, but also as object (direct regimen), and likewise could be followed by a postposition. The passage which he quotes for the former is as follows:—

Umun “*Mullila anne kia nemmaedugga—Bēlu*” *Mullilla šamē ū ēršiti*” *linihḫu-ka* “Lord Mullilla, may heaven and earth appease thee” (Reisner, *Hymnen*, p. 132).

It also occurs, to all appearance, as the direct object of a verb in *Western Asia Inscriptions*, iv, 30b, lines 1–3:—

1. *Dimmer anna, munlahlahgieš*
2. *me lahlahgieš*
3. *muešišiggieš.*

These are translated by *ilāni ša šame tašūr*, with the variant for the verb (*tašūr*) of *ana tahāzi izzazzu-ka*, making the alternative renderings “thou resistest the gods of the heavens” and “(the gods of the heavens) in battle stand up against thee”.

As, however, the verb, in all three cases, is in the plural, it seems evident that the former of the two renderings cannot be the right one, and it is likely that the variant *me*, “battle,” is simply graphic, and possibly due to

a scribe's error or theory. The three variants would then imply that the words *ana tahazi*, "to battle," are unauthorized, and that the readings are *munšušuggieš*, *mešušuggieš*,¹ and *muešišiggieš*, respectively, the rendering of the whole being "the gods of the heavens withstand thee". Incidentally, these three variants point to the probability that the hymn in which they occur may have been handed down by oral tradition.²

From the text published by the late George Bertin, and the fragments given in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, the following particles express the second person singular (and other pronouns):—

Bi (apparently) in the group *bi-ne*, translated in l. 15, col. iv of the tablet published by Mr. Bertin, by *atta šuati*, "thou that." For *bi* with the meaning of "thou", see *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, xi, pl. 42, 89-4-26, 965, obv. 13c. The particle is also translated by *anaku*, "I," *šu*, "he," *šuatum*, "that," etc., confirming the common opinion that the pronouns originated in more or less distant demonstratives.

In WAI. v, 20, l. 58, the Sumerian for "thou" is given as *bi*, and in pl. 27, l. 35, it is expressed by the character *ku*. On the other hand, pl. 20, l. 58 gives *ku* as equivalent to *anaku*, "I." As one of the values of *ku* is *ub* or *up*, the question arises whether this more usual demonstrative and pronominal syllable may not be the word intended. In WAI. iv, 11, 45b, we have *ennuna-ga ne-dur* (or *ennuna ga-ne-dur*) rendered by *ana mašarti tuššib* or *ušib*, "thou settest" or "he sat at the watch", or the like, showing that the old Semitic translator saw in one of the prefixes (probably *ne*), a pronominal particle meaning either "thou" or "he".

¹ Better, perhaps, than *munlahlahgieš* and *melahlahgieš*.

² As the dialectic Sumerian for "sheep" is *eši*, it is probable that we have, in WAI. iv, 11, 43, the group *e-ni-in-gub* = *tušziz*, "(with the sheep), thou settest," in which case *e* is probably "thou".

The following, therefore, are some of the syllables used for the personal pronouns of the verb in Sumerian :—

“ I ” : *a-*, *un-*, *an-*, *in-*, *en-*, *mu*.

“ Thou ” : *e-*, (*ib-e-*, *ba-e-*, *be-*, *bi-e-*), *un-*, *an-*, *in-*, *en-*.

“ He ” : *un-*, *an-*, *in-*, *en-*, *ub-*, *ab-*, *ib-*, *eb-*, *u-*, *a-*, *i-*, *e-*,
ba-an-, *ni-*, *bi-*.

“ We,” “ us,” “ to us ” : *mea*, *ma*, *ma-ra*.

“ You ” : *ene*, *enea*, *mensen-*, *unsen-*, *ansen-*, *inšen-*,
ensen-.

“ They ” : *enene*. Also the same prefixes as in the singular (see “ he ”), with the plural termination *-eš* (*-ieš*) suffixed to the root.

It will thus be seen that the Sumerian method of expressing the persons of the verb was very complex, and, in writing, made for considerable obscurity. In speaking, however, intonation must have played an important part, as it did in Chinese. As far as they go, therefore, the Sumerian pronouns support the late de Lacouperie's and the Rev. Dr. C. J. Ball's contention, that Sumerian and Chinese are closely connected.

Upon the language in general it will suffice to mention Dr. Stephen Langdon's *Sumerian Grammar* (Geuthner, 1912), already referred to.

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

NOTES ON THE BABUR-NAMA

- I. Nagarahār and Nīng-nahār.
- II. Dara-i-nūr.
- III. The wines of Dara-i-nūr.
- IV. Of Bihbūd Beg ; and of Bābur's vassal-coinage.

I. On the names *Nangrahār* and *Nīng-nahār*

Those who consult books and maps about the riverain tract between the Safed-koh (Spīn-ghur) and (Anglicé) the

Kābul-river find its name in several forms, the most common being Naugrahār and Nangnahār (with variant vowels). It would be useful to establish a European book-name for the district. As European opinion differs about the origin and meaning of the names now in use, and as a good deal of interesting circumstance gathers round the small problem of a correct form (there may be two), I offer about the matter what has come into the restricted field of my own work, premising that I do this merely as one who drops a casual pebble on the cairn of observation already long rising for scholarly examination.

A. The origin and meaning of the names.

I have met with three opinions about the origin and meaning of the names found now and earlier. To each one of them obvious objection can be made. They are:—

1. That all forms now in use are corruptions of the Sanscrit word *Nagara*hāra, the name of the Town-of-towns which in the *dū-āb* of the *Bārān-sū* and *Sūrkh-rūd* left the ruins Masson describes in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. But if this is so, why is the Town-of-towns multiplied into the nine of Na-nagrahār (Nangrahār)?¹

2. That the names found represent Sanscrit *nawā vihāra*, nine monasteries, an opinion the Gazetteer of India of 1907 has adopted from Bellew. But why precisely nine monasteries? Nine appears an understatement.

3. That Nang (Ning or Nung) -nahār verbally means nine streams, (Bābur's *Tūqūz-rūd*), an interpretation of long standing (Section B *infra*). But whence *nang*, *ning*, *nung*, for nine? Such forms are not in Persian, Turkī or Pushtu dictionaries, and, as Sir G. A. Grierson assures me, do not come into the Linguistic Survey.

¹ Another but less obvious objection will be mentioned later.

B. On nang, ning, nung for nine.

Spite of their absence from the natural homes of words, however, the above sounds have been heard and recorded as symbols of the number nine by careful men through a long space of time.

The following instances of the use of "Nangnahār" show this, and also show that behind the variant forms there may be not a single word but two of distinct origin and sense.

1. In Chinese annals two names appear as those of the district and town (I am not able to allocate their application with certainty). The first is Na-kie-lo-ho-lo, the second Nang-g-lo-ho-lo and these, I understand to represent Nagarahāra and Nang-nahār, due allowance being made for Chinese idiosyncrasy.¹

2. Some 900 years later (1527–30 AD.) Bābur also gives two names, Nagarahār (as the book-name of his *tūmān*) and Nīng-nahār.² He says the first is found in several histories (B.N. f. 131*b*); the second will have been what he heard and also presumably what appeared in revenue accounts; of it he says, "it is nine torrents" (*tūqūz-rūd*).

3. Some 300 years after Bābur, Elphinstone gives two names for the district, neither of them being Bābur's

¹ Julien notes (*Voyages des pèlerins Bouddhistes*, ii, 96), "Dans les annales des Song on trouve Nang-go-lo-ho, qui répond exactement à l'orthographe indienne Nagarahāra, que fournit l'inscription découvert par le capitaine Kittoe" (JASB. 1848). The reference is to the Ghoswāra inscription, of which Professor Kielhorn has also written (*Indian Antiquary*, 1888), but with departure from Nagarahāra to Nagarahāra.

² The scribe of the Haidarābād Codex appears to have been somewhat uncertain as to the spelling of the name. What is found in histories is plain, N:g:r:hār. The other name varies; on first appearance (fol. 131*b*) and also on fols. 144 and 154*b*, there is a vagrant dot below the word, which if it were above would make Nīng-nahār. In all other cases the word reads N:g:nahār. Nahār is a constant component, as is also the letter *g* (or *k*).

book-name, "Nangrahaur¹ or Nungnahaur, from the nine streams which issue from the Safed-koh, *nung* in Pushtoo signifying *nine*, and *nahaura*, a stream" (*Caulbul*, i, 160).

4. In 1881 Colonel H. S. Tanner had heard, in Nūr-valley on the north side of the Kābul-water, that the name of the opposite district was Nīng-nahār and its meaning Nine-streams. He did not get a list of the nine and all he heard named do not flow from Safed-koh.

5. In 1884 Colonel H. G. McGregor gives two names with their explanation, "Ningrahar and Nungnihar; the former is a corruption of the latter word² which in the Afghān language signifies nine rivers or rivulets." He names nine, but of them six only issue from Safed-koh.

6. I have come across the following instances in which the number nine is represented by other words than *na* (*nī* or *nu*); viz. the *nenhan* of the Chitrālī Kāfir and the *noun* of the Panj-ābī, recorded by Leech,—the *nyon* of the Khowārī and the *huncha* of the Boorishki, recorded by Colonel Biddulph.

The above instances allow opinion that in the region concerned and through a long period of time, nine has been expressed by *nang* (*ning* or *nung*) and other nasal or high palatal sounds, side by side with *na* (*nī* or *nu*). The whole matter may be one of nasal utterance,³ but

¹ Some writers express the view that the medial *r* in this word indicates descent from Nagarahāra, and that the medial *n* of Elphinstone's second form is a corruption of it. Though this might be, it is true also that in local speech *r* and *n* often interchange, e.g. Chighār- and Chighān-sarāī, Sūhār and Sūhān (in Nūr-valley).

² This asserts *n* to be the correct consonant, and connects with the interchange of *n* and *r* already noted.

³ Since writing the above I have seen Laidlaw's almost identical suggestion of a nasal interpolated in Nagarahāra (JASB. 1848, art. on Kittoe). The change is of course found elsewhere; is not Tānk for Tāq an instance?

since a large number of tribesmen express nine by a word containing a nasal sound, should that word not find place in lists of recognized symbols of sounds ?

C. Are there two names of distinct origin ?

1. Certainly it makes a well-connected story of decay in the Sanscrit word Nagarahāra to suppose that tribesmen, prone by their organism to nasal utterance, pronounced that word Nangrahār, and by force of their numbers made this corruption current,—that this was recognized as the name of the town while the Town-of-towns was great or in men's memory, and that when through the decay of the town its name became a meaningless husk, the wrong meaning of the Nine-streams should enter into possession.

But as another and better one can be put together, this fair-seeming story may be baseless. Its substitute has the advantage of explaining the double sequence of names shown in Section B.

The second story makes all the variant names represent one or other of two distinct originals. It leaves Nagrahār to represent Nagarahāra, the dead town; it makes the nine torrents of Safed-koh the primeval sponsors of Ning-nahār, the name of the riverain tract. Both names, it makes contemporary in the relatively brief interlude of the life of the town. For the fertilizing streams will have been the dominant factors of settlement and of revenue from the earliest times of population and government. They arrest the eye where they and their ribbons of cultivation space the riverain waste; they are obvious units for grouping into a sub-government. Their name has a counterpart in adjacent Panj-āb; the two may have been given by one dominant power, how long ago, in what tongue matters not. The riverain tract, by virtue of its place on a highway of transit, must have been inhabited

long before the town Nagarahāra was built, and must have been known by a name. What better one than Nine-streams can be thought of?

2. Bellew is quoted by the Gazetteer of India (ed. 1907) as saying, in his argument in favour of *nawā vihāra*, that no nine streams are found to stand sponsor, but modern maps shew nine outflows from Safed-koh to the Kābul-river between the Sūrkh-rūd and Daka, while if affluents to the former stream be reckoned, more than nine issue from the range.¹

Against Bellew's view that there are not nine streams, is the long persistence of the number nine in the popular name (Sect. B.).

It is also against his view that he supposes there were nine monasteries, because each of the nine must have had its fertilizing water.

Bābur says there were nine; there must have been nine of significance; he knew his *tūmān* not only by frequent transit but by his revenue accounts. A supporting point in those accounts is likely to have been that the individual names of the villages on the nine streams would appear, with each its payment of revenue.

3. In this also is some weight of circumstance against taking Nagarahāra to be the parent of Nīng-nahār:—An earlier name of the town is said to be Udyānapūra, Garden town.² Of this Bābur's Adīnapūr is held to be a corruption; the same meaning of garden has survived on approximately the same ground in Bālā-bāgh and Rozābād.

Nagarahāra is seen, therefore, to be a parenthetical

¹ These affluents I omit from main consideration as sponsors because they are less obvious units of taxable land than the direct affluents of the Kābul-river, but they remain a reserve force of argument and may or may not have counted in Bābur's nine.

² Cunningham, i, 42. My topic does not reach across the Kābul-river to the greater Udyānapūra of Beal's *Buddhist Records* (p. 119) nor raise the question of the extent of that place.

name between others which are all derived from gardens. It may shew the promotion of a "Garden-town" to a "Chief-town". If it did this, there was relapse of name when the Chief-town lost status. Was it ever applied beyond the delta? If it were, would it, when dead in the delta, persist along the riverain tract? If it were not, *cadit quæstio*; the suggestion of two names distinct in origin, is upheld.

Certainly the riverain tract would fall naturally under the government of any town flourishing in the delta, the richest and most populous part of the region. But for this very reason it must have had a name older than parenthetical Nagarahāra. That inevitable name would be appropriately Nīng-nahār (or Na-nahār) Nine-streams; and for a period Nagarahāra would be the Chief-town of the district of Na-nahār (Nine-streams).¹

D. Bābur's statements about the name.

What the cautious Bābur says of his *tūmān* of Nīng-nahār has weight:—

1. That some histories write it Nagarahār (Ḥaidarābād Codex, f. 131 b);
2. That Nīng-nahār is nine torrents, *i.e.* mountain streams, *tūquz-rud*;
3. That (the) nine torrents issue from Safed-koh (f. 132 b).

Of his first statement can be said, that he will have seen the book-name in histories he read, but will have heard Nīng-nahār, probably also have seen it in current letters and accounts.

Of his second,—that it bears and may be meant to bear two senses, (*a*) that the *tūmān* consisted of nine torrents,—their lands implied; just as he says "Asfara is four

¹ The strong form Nīng-nahār is due to euphonic impulse.

būlūks (sub-divisions f. 3b)—(b) that *tūqūz rūd* translates *nīng-nahār*.

Of his third,—that in English its sense varies as it is read with or without the definite article *Turkī* rarely writes, but that either sense helps out his first and second, to mean that verbally and by its constituent units *Nīng-nahār* is nine-torrents; as verbally and by its constituents *Panj-āb* is five-waters.

E. Last words.

Detailed work on the *Kābul* section of the *Bābur-nāma* has stamped two impressions so deeply on me, that they claim mention, not as novel or as special to myself, but as set by the work.

The first is of extreme risk in swift decision on any problem of words arising in North *Afghānistān*, because of its local concourse of tongues, the varied utterance of its unlettered tribes resident or nomad, and the frequent translation of proper names in obedience to their verbal meanings. Names lie there too in *strata*, relics of successive occupation—Greek, *Turkī*, *Hindī*, *Pushtū* and tribes *galore*.

The second is that the region is an exceptionally fruitful field for first-hand observation of speech, the movent ocean of the uttered word, free of the desiccated symbolism of alphabets and books.

The following books, amongst others, have prompted the above note:—

Ghoswāra Inscription, Kittoe, *JASB.*, 1848, and Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, p. 311.

H. Sastri's *Rāmacārita*, Introduction, p. 7 (*ASB. Memoirs*).

Cunningham's *Ancient India*, vol. i.

Beal's *Buddhist Records*, i, xxxiv, and cii, 91.

Leech's *Vocabularies*, *JASB.*, 1838.

The writings of Masson (*Travels and Ariana Antiqua*),
Wood, Vigne, etc.

Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāsirī*.

Jarrett's *Āyīn-i-akbarī*.

P.R.G.S. for maps, 1879; Macnair on the Kafirs, 1884;
Tanner's *On the Chugānī and neighbouring tribes
of Kāfiristān*, 1881.

Simpson's *Nagarahāra*, JASB., xiii.

Biddulph's *Dialects of the Hindū-kush*, JRAS.

Gazette of India, 1907, art. Jalalābād.

Bellew's *Races of Afghānistān*.

II. On the name *Dara-i-nūr*.

Some European writers have understood the name *Dara-i-nūr* to mean Valley of light, but natural features and also the artificial one mentioned by Colonel H. G. Tanner (*infra*), make it better to read the component *nūr*, not as Persian *nūr*, light, but as Pushtū *nūr*, rock. Hence it translates as Valley of Rocks, or Rock-valley. The region in which the valley lies is rocky and boulder-strewn; its own waters flow to the Kābul-river east of the water of Chitrāl. It shews other names composed with *nūr*, in which *nūr* suits if it means rock, but is inexplicable if it means light, e.g. *Nūr-lām* (*Nūr-fort*), the master-fort in the mouth of *Nūr-valley*, standing high on a rock between two streams, as Bābur and Tanner have both described it from eye-witness,—*Nūr-gal* (village), a little to the north-west of the valley,—*Aūlūgh-nūr* (great rock), at a crossing mentioned by Bābur, higher up the *Bārān-water*,—and *Koh-i-nūr* (Rocky-mountains), which there is ground for taking as the correct form of the familiar “*Kunar*” of some European writers (Raverty's *Notes*, p. 106). The dominant feature in these places dictates reading *nūr* as rock; so too the work done in *Nūr-valley*

with boulders, of which Colonel H. G. Tanner's interesting account is subjoined (P.R.G.S. 1881, p. 284).

"Some 10 miles from the source of the main stream of the Nur-valley the Dameneh stream enters, but the waters of the two never meet; they flow side by side about three-quarters of a mile apart for about 12 miles and empty themselves into the Kunar river by different mouths, each torrent hugging closely the foot of the hills at its own side of the valley. Now, except in countries where terracing has been practised continuously for thousands of years, such unnatural topography as exists in the valley of Nur is next to impossible. The forces which were sufficient to scoop out the valley in the first instance, would have kept a water-way at the lowest part, into which would have poured the drainage of the surrounding mountains; but in the Nur-valley long-continued terracing has gradually raised the centre of the valley high above the edges. The population has increased to its maximum limit and every available inch of ground is required for cultivation; the people, by means of terrace-walls built of ponderous boulders in the bed of the original single stream, have little by little pushed the waters out of their true course, until they run, where now found, in deep rocky cuttings at the very foot of the hills on either side" (p. 280).

"I should like to go on and say a good deal more about boulders; and while I am about it I may as well mention one that lies back from a hamlet in Shulut, which is so big that a house is built in a fault or crack running across its face. Another pebble lies athwart the village and covers the whole of the houses from that side."

III. *On the names of two Dara-i-nūr wines.*

From the two names, Arat-tāshī and Sūhān (Suhār)-tāshī, which Bābur gives as those of two wines of the

Dara-i-nūr, it can be inferred that he read *nūr* to mean rock. For if in them Turkī *tāsh*, rock, be replaced by Pushtū *nūr*, rock, two place-names emerge, Arat (-nūrī) and Sūhān (-nūrī), known in the Nūr-valley.

These may be villages where the wines were grown, but it would be quite exceptional for Bābur to say that wines are called from their villages, or indeed by any name. He says here not where they grow but what they are called.

I surmise that he is repeating a joke, perhaps his own, perhaps a standing local one, made on the quality of the wines. For whether with *tāsh* or with *nūr* (rock), the names can be translated as Rock-saw and Rock-file, and may refer to the rough and acid quality of the wines, rasping and setting the teeth on edge as does iron on stone.

The villages themselves may owe their names to a serrated edge or splintered pinnacle of weathered granite, in which local people, known as good craftsmen, have seen resemblance to tools of their trade.

IV. *Of Bihbūd Beg; and of Bābur's vassal-coinage.*

A. *Of Bihbūd Beg.*

We have found one further item of information about Bihbūd Beg to add to Bābur's statement that the beg's name was on Husain Bāī-qarā's coins, but we have not found Bābur's statement elsewhere. The second item is that Bihbūd Beg was one of Husain's commanders at the battle of Chikmān-sarāi in 876 AH. (1471 AD.).¹

We have found also that Husain once had a horse called Bihbūd; it is mentioned as given to an adversary when a peace was made in 865 AH. (1461 AD.).²

¹ *Habibu's-siyar* iii, 227. For discussion on the *Bih būd* of Husain's coins, JRAS., 1913, 1914, Notes by Dr. Codrington, Mr. M. L. Dames, and Mr. H. Beveridge. For particulars of the Bābur-nāma passage, *Memoirs of Bābur* trs. ASB. Fasc. II, Appendix H.

² *l.c.* iii, 219.

B. Of Bābur's vassal-coinage.

The following historical details narrow the field of numismatic observation on coins believed struck by Bābur as a vassal of Ismā'il Ṣafawī. They are offered because not readily accessible.

The length of Bābur's second term of rule in Transoxiana was not the three solar years of the B.M. Coin Catalogues but did not exceed eight months. He entered Samarkand in the middle of Rajab 917 AH. (c. Oct. 1st, 1511 AD.). He returned to it defeated and fled at once, after the battle of Kūl-i-malik which was fought in Ṣafar 918 AH. (mid-April to mid-May 1512 AD.). Previous to the entry he was in the field, without a fixed base; after his flight he harboured in small forts till at the end both of 920 AH. and of 1514 AD. he returned to Kābul.

He would not find a full Treasury in Samarkand because the Aūzbegs evacuated the fort at their own time; eight months would not give him large tribute in kind. He failed in Transoxiana because he was the ally of a Shī'a; would coins bearing the Shī'a legend have passed current from a Samarkand mint? These various circumstances suggest that he could not have struck many coins of any kind in Samarkand.

The coins classed in the B.M. Catalogues as of Bābur's vassalage, offer a point of difficulty to readers of his own writings, inasmuch as neither the "Sultān Muḥammad" of No. 652 (gold), nor the "Sultān Bābur Bahādur" of the silver coins enables confident acceptance of them as names he himself would use.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

DURYODHANA AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

On p. 684 of the Journal for 1913 I drew attention to the resemblance of a story about Duryōdhana in the Mahābhārata to a legend about the Queen of Sheba in

the Qur'ān. I now learn from a kind communication of Professor Zachariae, that I have been anticipated. Professor Zachariae writes:—

“ You will find an article by the pen of our learned poet Wilhelm Hertz (of Munich) entitled ‘Die Rätsel der Königin von Saba’ in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. xxvii, pp. 1–33. The article has been reprinted and made generally accessible by Professor von der Leyen in the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen von Wilhelm Hertz*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1905, pp. 413–55. (I quote from the reprint.) In this learned paper the passage you quote from the Qur'ān is discussed (p. 419), and the learned author has not omitted to mention (p. 427) what is told of King Duryodhana in the Mahābhārata. W. Hertz quotes from Lassen, *IA.*, I^r, p. 676, n. 3.”

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

December 15, 1913.



NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE-HISTORY OF A BRĀHŪĪ. By DENYS BRAY,
I.C.S. Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund,
Vol. IV. Demy 8vo; pp. vii, 172. 1913.

Mr. Bray's graphic and unconventional Census Report of Balūchistān for 1911 prepared us for an interesting monograph on the Brāhūīs, and these expectations have been fully realized in this book, which throws a dry light upon a remarkable people. As Mr. Bray informs us, it is the record of a series of conversations with Mirza Shēr Muḥammad, one of the few Brāhūīs who are literate, an officer formerly in the service of the Khān of Kalāt, and now employed by the British Government. The style is bright and picturesque, but in its review of sexual relations the book is obviously intended for the scientific, not for the general reader. It represents the true colour of the local atmosphere, and, as the author remarks, it "lends itself throughout to an almost literal translation into Brāhūī".

In his Census Report Mr. Bray has shown that, largely owing to the introduction of strangers to tribal privileges, the Brāhūīs form a mixed race. They speak a Dravidian tongue amidst a "Turko-Iranian" population—to use Sir H. Risley's classification. Whether they are the scattered survivors of a migration from the south-east, or whether they entered the province from the north-west, and amalgamated with the races in occupation of the country, must for the present remain doubtful. If, as Mr. Bray is inclined to believe, the nucleus of the tribe came to the front about the time of the Baloch migrations, the latter theory may be provisionally accepted.

The Brāhūī is hardly a lovable personality. The proverbial wisdom of the countryside has hardly a good

word for him ; he is no one's friend. He is grasping and unfaithful, with the name of Allāh on his lips even when he is set upon a hard bargain or engaged in some dubious transaction. But his faults are largely the result of his environment, and under sympathetic rule he becomes a sturdy yeoman, pig-headed and fanatical if you will, but possessing that backbone of self-reliance which has made the Jāt of North-Western India one of the finest peasants in the world. Like most Orientals of his kind, he speaks to his fellow-men of women with half-humorous contempt. If a maiden dislikes her selected suitor "they pinch her for her pains (never take stick to a girl! it makes her mulish and stubborn); don't take stick to your wife, take another wife to beat her withal". At the same time the wife is a power in the house, where her keen eye for business secures respectful treatment. She will run away if she is ill-treated, and then what will become of the hard cash you paid for her? "Women, too, are the jealous nurses of our customs from one generation to another. Women are never more happy than when living the past over and over again, and they are ever railing at their men for catching at some new thing."

It is impossible to discuss in detail the curious information which Mr. Bray has collected. He disclaims any attempt to interpret the facts in the light of comparative religion and folk-lore, and this notice will be devoted to the discussion of his material from this point of view.

Islām is only a thin veneer over the Animism and magic which are the bases of their beliefs and usages. The Jinn, the wild spirits of the wold, ever beset them, and attack children and women in their times of weakness, when they cause hysterical possession, for which flagellation is the sound household remedy. The soul when it leaves the body at death can bear messages to those who have gone before, and on All Souls' Eve food is cooked for them and after dedication made over to the Mullā.

The domestic rites are controlled by magic, usually of the mimetic or homœopathic types. The child's foreskin or first tooth, and the blood on which the bride is forced to tread at the home-coming, are buried beneath a green tree, because, as Dr. Frazer has recently shown,¹ the "external soul" is thus associated with the fertility immanent in the tree. On the same principle, the dedication of the child's hair at the first ceremonial shaving to the shrine of the tribal saint brings him *en rapport* with the spirit of the holy man.² To avoid demoniacal influences, the child is vowed to be the slave of Allāh, there is a pretended sale and re-purchase, or he is given an opprobrious name. At the cutting of the first tooth the mother and child go a-begging for grain to make the birth pottage, or the baby is placed in a winnowing-basket "that God may vouchsafe them as many children as the basket can hold grain". The expectant mother is passed under a mare in foal, that the period of pregnancy may not overpass the natural term of womankind. The bridegroom's trousers are turned inside out to avoid sorcery. Comfits are showered over the pair as a fertility charm, and women who have unmarried daughters do reverence to the markings on the forehead of the bride. These examples might be largely increased, but enough has been said to show that the Brāhūi domestic rites follow the principles which have been established by the modern school of scientific folk-lore.

It is well that the task of recording these beliefs and usages should have been undertaken at the present time, because even among such a conservative race as the Brāhūis custom is rapidly changing. The bride-price, at one time prohibited by tribal law, is now commonly

¹ *The Golden Bough*, 3rd edition, part vii, "Balder the Beautiful," vol. ii, pp. 159 ff., 1913.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 103 f.

levied. A man no longer seeks his bride among the *shulrār*, "trousers," the special dress of a bride, which defines the family group in which the intermarriage of cousins was the normal rule. The long period of enforced mourning has now been much reduced. The use of tea and quinine, unknown until recent times, is now common. But it is among the independent caterans of the frontier—not the taboo-controlled, Brāhman-ridden people of the plains—that we may now hope to collect the facts of primitive belief and usage. No one knows better than Mr. Bray that even his Brāhūī friends keep a secret chamber at the back of their minds to which no foreigner has access. But it may be hoped that the success of the present book, valuable alike to the administrator and the student of popular beliefs, will tempt him to extend his survey of the Brāhūī, or even to go further afield, where among the Baloch and Paṭhān, a new sphere of inquiry still remains unoccupied.

W. CROOKE.

CENSUS REPORT OF BALUCHISTAN. Census of India, 1911, vol. iv. By DENYS BRAY, I.C.S. Calcutta, 1913.

In the census of 1911 Balōchistan as a whole takes its place for the first time, the complete area (134,638 square miles) being now included. According to the Census Report of 1901 the area which came under census operations was given as 76,977 square miles, and that excluded as 55,338. In the present report these figures are given as 82,950 and 51,688, but in any case about two-fifths of the country was excluded, comprising Makrān, Khārān, Western Sinjrānī, and part of Chāgai. The population does not show a corresponding increase. In 1901 the population part, even of the area censused, was estimated and not enumerated, the result (810,746) being nearly as large as that for the whole country as

now enumerated (834,708). It is evident that the estimates and guesses made in 1901 were much in excess of the reality. The greater part of the country has a population of under 5 per square mile, and any really large population can never be expected to develop under the most favourable conditions in this dry and barren region. The smallness of these figures is, however, no index to the interest attaching to the census of Balōchistan, which presents many problems of intense interest. The officers entrusted with the work in this and the previous census have risen to their opportunities. Mr. Hughes Buller wrote a most excellent report on the data then available, and furnished most valuable evidence as to the structure and formation of the tribes, while Mr. Denys Bray, it is not too much to say, has written one of the most interesting reports that exist, dealing with Balōch, Brāhūī, and Paṭhān with equal detail and discrimination. His work on the Brāhūī language and his admirable little book on the *Life History of a Brāhūī* (recently published by the Society) show the attention he has given to this hitherto neglected race, their tribal constitution, customs, and language; and his treatment of the other principal races included within the limits of Baluchistan, the Balōch and Paṭhān, shows that he is fully qualified to deal with them also in equal detail. It seems a pity, by the way, that Mr. Bray has not adhered to the spelling Balōchistān, which gives the true pronunciation. He says in paragraph 21 that he supposes "it would be pedantry to insist on Balōchistān", but if "Balōch", why not "Balōchistān"? There is an unnecessary tendency to substitute *ma'rūf* for *majhūl* sounds in the Eastern Iranian country and the Indian frontier, as some think it fine to write Safīd Kūh for Sufēd Kōh, or Raverty writes Hūt for the Balōch tribe Hōt, and it is just as well to resist it and to insist on the pronunciation actually followed in the country.

Balōchistān has, moreover, been a well-known spelling since Masson's time.

In almost every section of this illuminating report new light is thrown on one or other of the difficult or obscure subjects dealt with. It is impossible to mention all of these, but there are few parts that will not repay careful study, either by the anthropologist, the folklorist, or the philologist. Under "Migration", for instance, we have the nomadic nature of the greater part of the population, and the differences in this respect between the various races clearly brought out. Under "Religion" the information about shrines, survivals of older creeds under Islam, cairns, and "stones of reproach" is to be noted. The latter, which Mr. Bray calls *phit-dhērī* (a Jatki term), I know better by the name of *dambul*, which I think is the true Balōchi word. The information as to taboos (§ 122) should also be noted, as well as the numerous customs collected in the chapters on sex and marriage, a considerable part of which is embodied in a convenient form in the *Life History of a Brāhūī*.

In the chapter on "Caste, Tribe, and Race" Mr. Bray examines all accepted theories, and criticizes them from a basis of fact derived from personal knowledge; and without going into detail, which would be impossible here, it may be confidently asserted that no anthropologist should presume to write on the origins of Pathān, Baloch, or Brāhūī henceforth without a careful study of Mr. Bray's opinions. He tilts especially at that convenient abstraction, the "Turko-Iranian" race, and perhaps it may now be relegated to obscurity. It was never more than a name under which a number of very distinct races living near one another might be put together for convenience of classification. The chapter on language is not less interesting. The remarks on Balōchī dialects lead us to hope that some attention may now be directed to this hitherto neglected branch of Iranian philology,

and not only to the dialects of Makrān and Khārān, but to those of Sistān and Persian Balōchistān. In connexion with this subject, it would be useful to know whether Mr. Bray obtained his knowledge of the Kēch and Panjgūr dialects personally, as the substitution of *s* for *t* in Panjgūrī gives rise to a suspicion that the *s* may represent a *θ*, which would correspond with the sound in Northern Balōchī. In the early textbooks of that language, compiled by persons to whom Balōchī was not a native language, *θ* and *δ* were often misrepresented as *s* and *z*. Perhaps Mr. Bray may be able to give us some more detailed studies on this subject. Not less illuminating are the remarks on Dēhwārī, that almost unknown form of Persian, on Pashto and Jaṭkī. With regard to that curious dialect, Khetrānī, I may note that in 1875, when I first visited the Khetrān country, I found that the dialect was almost unintelligible to the natives of Dēra Ghāzī Khān, who speak pure Western Panjābī, and the points of difference indicate a language more like Sindhī than Jaṭkī. It must not be forgotten, however, that many forms nearer to Sindhī than Western Panjābī linger in the hills north of Rāwal Pindī.

Mr. Denys Bray must be congratulated on having produced an ideal Census Report—one in which the dead bones of a mere official Blue book come together into the form of a real living work of research.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

DIGHANIKĀYA, DAS BUCH DER LANGEN TEXTE DES BUDDHISTISCHEN KANONS. In Auswahl übersetzt von Dr. R. OTTO FRANKE, Prof. an der Universität Königsberg i. Pr. pp. lxxx, 360. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913.

This volume of ten, out of the thirty-four Suttantas of the first Nikāya in the Buddhist canon, is published as

No. 4 in group 8 of the "Sources of the History of Religion", by the Royal Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften at Göttingen. The series professes a "purely scientific" aim, with confidence in the practical utility of its results. With praiseworthy insight, it judges that to acquire a knowledge of these documentary sources is the *duty* of all who visit, in the interests of civilization, the homes of those sources—of diplomat and doctor, merchant, engineer and cultivator, and last, not least, of the missionary. It points out also the intimate connexion between religions and laws—a truth to which the series of Pali sources published during the last thirty-three years in this country may be said to owe its very existence.

The publication expenses of this volume were partly defrayed by a subvention from the Edmund Hardy fund, contributed by its trustees, the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences in Munich. No worthier object could have been thus assisted to the light than such a work from the hands of such a translator. It is more than time that the really competent Pali scholar should call off his energies from analytic article and monograph on meticulous discussions, and no longer suffer these venerable "sources" to be presented to the German reader—let alone those of neighbouring countries—only by the less competent, yet alas! so much more self-confident craftsman. It can have been nothing but an irksome task to Dr. Franke to spend himself, over twenty-four pages in his Introduction, in correcting the many, sometimes fairly purple errors, in other translations of just these Suttantas. The greater is the debt of grateful acknowledgment he has laid on the reader, who can find therein not only a general warning, but detailed proofs of the need of such warning. Still greater will be the regret that the translations so open to criticism should have got first into the field and should be holding it, in the absence of more accurate versions.

It is needless to add that, where Dr. Franke has found

it an imperative duty to make searching and detailed censure, he does not put forward his own renderings as finally, incontrovertibly right. What he does is, after the fashion of a truly scholarly guide, to take us by the hand, or better, *sur la corde*, and show us now here, now there, where the meaning is doubtful, where this path or that is apparently equally possible, and why that turn approves itself less to him than this. "Etwas gelehrtes Beiwerk"—some learned by-products—in the shape of a running fusillade of footnotes, is of course inevitable, if your guide talks thus to you as you go. But this is compressed to the minimum that is necessary, and how much more do we not learn in this way—however little we may know of Pali—than by reading an apparently German text only, of which the translator has, as it were, announced "This is the way, walk ye in it!" and then left us to read and to infer and to speculate *ad lib.*?

As to the æsthetic values in the style, the translator has sought—and, I think, rightly—to keep to the "coolly rational" tone characteristic of the Buddha-discourses, reserving deeper colouring for the gāthās. Sympathy, humour, irony, indignation, may all be, and at times unmistakably are, implicit in the grave and serene utterances, delivered to all sorts and conditions of inquirers, sentimental, itchingly speculative, stubborn, petty-minded, or really discerning. But tradition, in handing down the logia, has maintained a consistently equable tone. In reproducing this tone the present translation strikes me by its lucidity, directness, and transparency. I only deplore, though with the diffidence of one commenting on a foreign idiom, the occasional resort to Latin annexations, let alone Greek. I cannot but think that a tongue so nobly rich for narrative and for work of mind as German could have provided better native terms than *Causalität*, *Characteristika*, *Delikatesse*, *fundamental*, *Ovation*, *Stadium*, *Zeremonie*, etc. Even if we give these the

go-by, there is one term—a dreadful alien!—that cannot be got over, and that is *Existenz* (p. 194), brought in to help *Werden* in rendering *bhava*, when the Pali itself is content to repeat its word, and when that repetition is so much more impressive than variety. How we English translators envy the birthright of that *Werden*, here so lightly set aside! Even the *Sein* in the following verse had been in every way better rendered by—

Zum WERDEN giebt's nie Wiederkehr!
natthi dāni punabbhavo.

For the rest, I have found myself consenting, in respectful appreciation, to nearly all Dr. Franke's renderings of terms, and enjoying the clear and finished turning of his periods. And his translations of Suttantas from vol. iii (PTS. ed.) have already helped me much in preparing more *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Noteworthy is (1) his comment on *anudhamma* (p. 131)—the Comm. on *anudhammatā* in *Ang.* ii, 46 (*Cat. Nip.* 42) explains it as the being able on any occasion to reply to a question on doctrine; (2) his rendering of *ditṭhā* as *distyā* in pp. 202 and 268; cf. *Mahāvastu*, Sen. Ed. iii, 38; (3) his note on *dīpa* (p. 203)—Buddhaghosa always renders it in this connexion by “island”: “as an island in the great ocean make yourself the terra firma”; and many other points in text and comment.

Among these, (4) I like the one rendering of *anständige* better than the many of *beste*, *Familien* (pp. 144, etc.) for *kula-puttā*, but still prefer “clansmen” to either. (5) *Ungezeugt* is a good rendering for *opapātika* (p. 59); *überirdisches Wesen* (195) is not always a good fit; Ambapālī was so born, v. *Therīg. Comm.* 207. (6) “Sind ungehalten” is scarcely justifiable for *ujjhāyanti* (p. 246): the devas are represented as varying in self-control no less than the brethren. (7) In translating *putābhedaṇa* as descriptive of the future Pāṭaliputta (p. 190), Dr. Franke follows Rhys Davids, but with reluctance and much

discussion. In this, has he intentionally omitted to notice that Sāgala, in the *Milinda*, p. 1, is described by the same compound, where no word-play on the name of the town is possible? Again, (8) in *pettike visaye* (p. 260), where the “paternal” can only be figurative, is it not likely that there is here an allusion to the old folk story of the quail and the falcon (Jat. ii, 59): “*sac’ ajja . . . careyyāma sake pettike visaye*”—retold in *Samy.* v, 146—an allusion that the hearers would recognize? (9) In the following paragraph (p. 261) the *verschwindet* is a little previous. The *dibba-cakka* was only, so to speak, getting launched. (10) A little farther on (p. 274): *sukko . . . kaṇho vaṇṇo* refers surely to complexion, not to “purity”:—“clear-skinned” and “swarthy”. The Comm. gives *paṇḍaro . . . kālako*. (11) On the following page *dhammena* is rendered *dem wahren Wesen nach*. This is in rendering the refrain of the Aggañña Suttanta *dhammen’ eva no adhammena*, a rendering which is varied by other turns of the phrase: *wesensgleich* and *Wesen Natur*. That “whereas Dhamma may imply *Recht*, righteousness, justice, truth, virtue, law, its most fundamental meaning is,” not essence, essential nature (*Wesen*), but “that on account of which—be it righteousness or some unmoral proficiency—a distinction is assigned . . . a rule, . . . standard or norm”, I have tried elsewhere to show (*Buddhism*, 1912, p. 239). And it was precisely this Suttanta that seemed to reveal this meaning most clearly. *Wesen* is always indicated by such terms as *sāra*, also by *lakkhaṇa* and *rasa* (for of course there is nothing more “essential” in anything, for a Buddhist, than *salient* feature or property) and, adjectivally, by *taccha*, *bhūta*, *sacca*. I regret keenly, therefore, to note that the translator has seen otherwise.

Talking of “seeing”, (12) is it not a little unmindful of one of the *lakkhaṇas* of Indian prose, to have rendered “himself will know, himself will see” by “selbst klar erkennen wird”? It is to substitute Descartes’ *valde*

clare et distincte percipio for the dear familiar *jānāti passati*, with or without *yathābhūtaṃ*, but certainly with an æsthetic impoverishment. Other similar and surely unnecessary losses are (13) “the closed fist of a teacher”, for which we have only the *geizt nicht*, of one who is not miserly (which takes us off the track, p. 203), and (14) the omission of *ye keci sikkhakāmā* (p. 207). “An after-thought” is Rhys Davids’s comment, but how precious, how pregnant and artistically placed an after-thought those who have heard him recite the passage will know! (cf. *Compendium of Philosophy*, xxiii.) (15) Once more, the rendering of *āsavā* by *weltliche Schwäche*: a “weakening” indeed of an impressively sinister term (p. 83). It can now no more be said (n. 1) that the meaning is any longer doubtful (see *Dialogues*, ii, 28, n. 2; *Compendium* “*Āsava*”, p. 227 f.; Comm. on *Khuddakapāṭha*, “*Dasasikkhāpadāni*”); the *āsavas*, it is true, make men weak, but we do not speak of small-pox and snake-bite as weaknesses or infirmities.

The *sūkara - maddava* (p. 222, n. 4) had, as was inevitable, to be again dug up from its discreet tomb, and Caliban’s pignuts or truffles or what not have been reconverted into pig—and pig *faisandé*—poor Cunda-the-smith! It is a picturesque but not important decision either way, and I will only remark, as to Dr. Franke’s emphasis on the order of the two compounded words, that it was chiefly this order that led Rhys Davids to alter his early rendering. But *à propos* of the Master’s meals in general, the note 3, p. 105, that he did not eat after noon, might be modified in the light of his own confessed freedom from routine in such trifles, *Majjh.* ii, 5 f.

To conclude these scrappy comments on a translation so abounding in interest,¹ I would venture to express both

¹ The question in nn. 4, 5, p. 197, may best be answered by reference to *Dīgha*, iii, “*Sangīti Sṭa*,” p. 255 (iii). Buddhists distinguish between the four paths (*apariyūpannā maggā ca maggaphalāni ca*) and the Eight-fold Path.

concern and disagreement only over two more points: (16) The explanation why *kammaṇ* is not to be “a joy” for the Order (p. 183, n. 4). *Kammaṇ* here is not any “Tätigkeit”; it is “business” (cf. *Dialogues*, ii, 82, § 7), explained by Buddhaghosa as being absorbed by “Martha-chores”:—domestic service, tailoring, repairs, food, lodging, and all that. But to know, as all do, that these same bhikkhu-cohorts were exhorted to be “full of learning, energetic in wrestling” (p. 184), dividing all they got in communistic affection (ibid.), were sent forth to preach and show kindness as missionaries, and “spread abroad pure religion”, and were commissioned to compile, learn, and hand on a pure Word,—then to read that, inasmuch as “all actions”, good or bad, were held as leading to rebirth, it was best “*zu unterlassen*”: not to act, is to see the incredible take birth. (17) The frequent allusions to a Buddhist doctrine of metaphysical idealism, indicated by such antitheses as *Schein-individuum* (p. 296), *geistig-real* (“as opposed to physical reality, which did not exist,” p. 148). This is getting too near to that corrupted Buddhism of later Northern India, which was infected by Vedantic idealism (cf. Walleser, *Der ältere Vedānta*; my *Buddhism*, p. 25). For the Theravāda, the *mahā-bhūtāni*, as elements, were *no upādā*, not derived, ultimately real. It was the compounds into which they entered, “arising and ceasing,” that were transient and phenomenal. We may be compelled to use “Erscheinungen”, phenomena, for *dhammā*, but it is surely better to make no other such importations (cf. *Compendium*, “Attha,” p. 223).

There is a great deal of matter in Dr. Franke's book beside text and notes (and admirable indexes), for which little space for comment remains. To the valuable collection of “sankhāra” passages, in the Appendix, I would suggest the addition, by the reader, of S. Z. Aung's discussion in *Compendium*, p. 273 f. Further light may

yet be thrown when we quite get the Buddhist meaning of *paccaya*, which is not quite, not only, *Voraussetzung*, and of the elaborated *paccaya-satti*, by which even the Sāṅkhyan *Dispositionen* may become tenable as Buddhist. But, till I get corrected, Dr. Franke's rendering for *sankhārā*, "Hervorbringungen," strongly commends itself. Unfortunately it is hard to overtake in English.

The appendix on Tathāgata is also an important contribution. The word is discussed under two sections, which I should like to have seen distinguished as the arahant who is *sammā-sambuddha* and the arahant who is not. With respect to the latter and his final death: *hoti tathāgato param maraṇā?* etc. (here the point of the Buddhist attack on the Nihilists is admirably caught, p. 296, n. 1), the writer points out that even Buddhaghosa and the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*¹ paraphrase *tathāgato* by *satto*, and that therefore the word "is to a certain extent synonymous with self, soul, I". And so long as it is made clear that animistic inquirers in the Nikāyas so used the word, and they only, no error is actually committed. The danger in translating *tathāgata* by any such term would be none the less great. There are many who would see in the word the Buddhist refuge for that *attā* so constantly expelled from the Khandhas, and only by such supposed to be kept hidden up the sleeve of him whose "fist was not closed"!

To end with the beginning: the constructive portion of the Introduction is (1) an attempt to demonstrate that the *Dīgha-Nikāya* is not a *collection* of discourses, but an "einheitlich abgefasstes schriftstellerisches Werk", to which the proper title were "The Book of the Tathāgata", the subject-matter being "concrete examples of Tathāgatas and the scheme of salvation preached by one of them", and (2) "what guarantee have we for the

¹ The *Abhidhānappadīpikāśūcī*, the Singhalese *Bearbeitung* of the work referred to, has a full discussion of the double meaning of *tathāgata*.

authenticity (or reliability) of the Buddhist tradition"? The writer is mainly addressing his more critical readers, but it is also evident that he holds a brief against that relatively new phenomenon, the German neo-Buddhist and his works, wherein he detects a credulous readiness to accept the Nikāyas as another "Bible". And something approaching missionary zeal appears in the hard knocks bestowed upon the hypothetical "author" of the *Dīgha*, as well as upon those of the other "texts"—a treatment which seems otherwise uncalled for and only calculated to irritate. We have hitherto supposed that the refrain methods of the Suttas were largely due to their oral transmission, carried on with jealous care, and with reluctance to bring in the freer manifold of the written word. We now learn that just these "schematic stereotyped turns" are most simply explained as the work of scribblers (*Schreiberseelen*), "well meaning, but stupid." I confess to thinking Dr. Franke is pushing at an open door, when he judges we have to "dig out" the true Buddha word from its often tiresome setting, even if we do not damn it all as "tepid gossip and muddled nonsense" (p.1). But when, on the lines of Dr. Neumann's assumption in the *Theratherīgāthā*, he wishes us to see one man's hand compiling a consistently composed work in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, barriers to this conclusion—if I rightly follow that this is his conclusion—seem to me to rise up on every hand. Both Tathāgata (Gotama Buddha) and "Heilsweg" fall out of several Suttantas, omitted from the present selection, e.g. the Kevaddha, M. Nidāna, Pāyāsi, Āṭānāṭiya, Singālovāda, etc. And surely one and the same *writer* would have arranged the scrappy M. Parinibbāna S. differently, both as to detail and as to its place in the whole. It may be want of insight or of German, but the theory of a collected body of traditional episodes, growth by accretion, and a probable plurality of compilers still commends itself to me. Notwithstanding,

and because of it all, the present work is a veritable treasure of devoted scholarship, worthy and certain to provoke really adequate and lasting response.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

COLLOQUIES ON THE SIMPLES AND DRUGS OF INDIA.

By GARCIA DA ORTA. Translated by Sir CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S. London: H. Sotheran and Co., 1913.

The *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas da India*, by Garcia da Orta, was published as long ago as 1563 at Goa, being the third book ever printed in India, but until now never fully translated into English. Dr. Gerson da Cunha gives several quotations from it, in English, in his "Origin of Bombay" (Journ. Bomb. Br. R.A.S., 1900), and so does Sir H. Yule in his Glossary. Versions in Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French have appeared, and two or three editions in Portuguese, the last being a full one by Count Ficalho, 1891, from which the present excellent translation of the very interesting work has been made.

The author arrived in India in 1534 and went as physician with a fleet of Martim Affonso to Bassein and Bombay, where, especially at the latter place, he laid the foundations of his Colloquies with the help of a Persian translator and merchant, Khwajah Parkulu. In about 1555 the King of Portugal granted to him at a quit-rent the island of Bombay, where he made a house and a garden described by Dr. Fryer in his "New Account of Bombay" as "a prettily seated but ill-fortified house" and "a delicate garden voiced to be the pleasantest in India". Here he collected a large library and cultivated an assortment of rare and valuable plants. The site of this house and garden was identified by da Cunha as close to the old Portuguese fort, just where the Arsenal

now stands. He also had a house and garden at Goa, where he was physician to the Viceroy. Garcia appears to have travelled and seen a good deal of active service with the Portuguese in Western and Southern India and Ceylon, and also with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Bahram Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. He died at Goa about 1570.

The book is written in the form of Colloquies between Garcia da Orta and a learned Spanish doctor who is supposed to have travelled to India in quest of more knowledge of the subjects discussed. These subjects range over a large field beyond simples and drugs, including precious stones, trees, fruits, elephants and other animals, the Elephanta, Kanheri, and other Caves, caste and races of men. One cannot read the book without being struck by the extent of the knowledge the writer had acquired, his shrewdness and accuracy of observation, and his clearness in description. He seems to have been in some respects considerably in advance of his time. He is careful, too, to distinguish between what he has himself observed and what he has learnt from hearsay only, by which latter he is sometimes led into mistakes; for instance, in description of the Durian fruit he writes (p. 177), "Its smell is universally praised," and of the mangosteen (p. 322), "They say that the scent of this fruit is not sweet and causes loathing," from which it is evident to anyone who has a personal acquaintance with these fruits that the learned doctor has confused what he had heard about them; he says he has not seen them.

The notes, together with the list of plants and the indexes, add very materially to the value and interest of the book, as the reader is able by them to recognize under their common English and scientific names the substances or plants spoken of; for instance, the third Colloquy on amber is really about ambergris, the Arabic

'*ambar*, not the resinous substance commonly known as amber. The footnote explains this, but the word ambergris is omitted from the Index. The valuable notes are, however, marred by some words being put in Arabic letters, as well as transliterated, all of them sadly misspelt, set up evidently by some one who knew not the Arabic characters, and unfortunately not noticed on revision. But the book is otherwise beautifully printed and a handsome volume, which has been read with much pleasure.

O. C.

A PEPYS OF MOGUL INDIA. By MARGARET L. IRVINE.
London: John Murray, 1913.

Miss Irvine has done a pious as well as an useful work by making an abridgment of her father's translation of Manucci's *History of the Moguls*. The original *Storia do Mogor* is in three languages, Portuguese, French, and Italian, and is still only obtainable in MSS. which have to be sought for in the public libraries of Venice, Berlin, and Paris. Mr. Irvine was therefore quite right to publish a complete translation, but the book is too big as well as too expensive for the general reader. There is thus room for Miss Irvine's abridgment, which gives the cream of Manucci's work, that is, his personal adventures and observations, and leaves out the interminable squabbles between the Jesuits and the Capuchins which take up part of the third and nearly the whole of the fourth volume, and also omits what Manucci calls his Royal Chronicle. He says he got it from an aged man of letters, and thinks that his readers will be glad to listen to it on account of its special information. But the aged man was a very Struldbrug for inaccuracy, and is justly described by Mr. Irvine as a broken reed and one whose chronicles yield nothing more than a farrago of the

wildest and most improbable legend. Catrou was well advised in patching them up from more trustworthy accounts.

Unfortunately, the plan of Miss Irvine's book, and also considerations of space, have prevented her from giving the fascinating account of the adventures of Manucci's MSS., and of her father's hunt for them over Europe—a hunt which cost him both time and money. Its history must be read in his Introduction to the first volume. And here I should like to notice a small point in the translation of Manucci's letter to the Venetian Senate, pp. xxxiv, xxxv of the Introduction. There Manucci is made to say that the friend to whom he entrusted his MSS. died at Galle (Egellia in text). It has been suggested that the word is not Galle, but Hidjeelee. The fact, however, is that the friend, who is known to have been Boureau-Deslandes, did not die either at Galle or Hidjeelee, but went off from France to the West Indies. The word "died" is an incorrect translation of the Latin. Egellia is a mistake for "e Gallia". I remember that I suggested this emendation to my friend, and he told me afterwards that some scholar had examined the original for him and ascertained that it was "e Gallia" there. Mr. Irvine said he intended to make the correction in a communication to our Journal, but unfortunately his long illness and death prevented him from doing this.

Manucci's career was an extraordinary one. He began as a stowaway, for when his father would not let him leave Venice he anticipated the immortal Sam Weller and prevented unpleasantness by taking leave and hiding on board a vessel bound for Smyrna. There his good luck befriended him, for an Englishman, Henry Bard, Lord Bellamont, was among the passengers, and was on his way to Turkey, Persia, and India. Indeed, he was ready to wander still further, for his commission from Charles II authorized him also to go to Morocco and Asiatic Georgia.

Bellamont, too, was a venturesome spirit. He had already been in the East, and had brought home a Qoran, which he presented to King's College, Cambridge, and which is still in the library there. He had also served as a Cavalier and been severely wounded at Alresford in Hampshire in an action during the Civil Wars. He was now going on a wild-goose chase to Persia, etc., to see if he could get some of the fabled wealth of Ormus or of Ind for his exiled sovereign. He took pity on the young stowaway and made him his valet, and the two travelled together to Persia and India, where Bellamont suddenly died in a caravanserai near Delhi.

Manucci was only 15, and he was ignorant and not scrupulous about telling fibs, but, surely, he was of the Marco Polo breed, and was as ardent a traveller, and not less quickwitted and observant. Would anyone but a clever Italian boy have shown the pluck and resource which he displayed when two rascally English gunners tried to rob him of his own and his benefactor's (Young of Surat) property? His account of his travels in Turkey, Persia, and India is most interesting, and it is fully given in Miss Irvine's book. He has also many interesting things to tell about Shah Jahan and his sons and daughters, though it would be unfair to compare him with the Montpellier physician Bernier, who was a scholar and a gentleman.

H. B.

LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS PAR AUREL STEIN
DANS LES SABLES DU TURKESTAN ORIENTAL. Publiés
et traduits par ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, Membre de
l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France. Oxford:
Imprimerie de l'Université, 1913.

When Sir Aurel Stein entrusted to Professor Chavannes the task of publishing and translating the Chinese part of

the yield of his excavations in Central Asia, he not only chose most judiciously, but gave to the choice a certain felicitous symbolic background. For this handsome quarto, published in England, but not in English, represents in the sphere of research the happy outcome of a remarkable British exploration illuminated by the highest French scholarship and lucidity.

The material dealt with in the present volume was brought to light in three different regions, all lying between the western terminus of the Great Wall in Kansu Province on the east, and the city of Khotan, on the 80th degree of longitude, on the west. Of these localities the eastern line of sites formed by the ancient frontier wall built in continuation of the older work of Ts'in Shih Huang Ti by one of the early sovereigns of the succeeding Han Dynasty has furnished much the largest as well as most valuable group of documents. The total bulk handed over to M. Chavannes was formidable, being some 2,000 objects, of which about half were eliminated as useless on a first scrutiny. The remaining 991 are those examined and elucidated in this volume, which is arranged as follows. A Preface of one page precedes an Introduction of twenty. Then comes the main body of the work, 221 pages, in which we find each document numbered, with its original site-reference and metric dimensions indicated and other particulars given, transcribed in modern Chinese text, followed in the great majority of cases by a French translation, and often by extremely useful and interesting notes. To this part succeeds a table showing at a glance which of the documents are reproduced in the plates and on which plates they appear. Then an Index, two pages of Errata, and a Table des Matières. Finally, thirty-seven photographic plates of the wooden slips, pieces of silk, and fragments of paper with their inscriptions. Not all the examples have been reproduced, as the table shows

(though the latter is not quite complete in this respect, Nos. 152, 199, 449, 721, 724, 727, 729, 731, and 736 being omitted), but the plates comprise 574 out of the total 991 dealt with in the text.

What now, it may be asked, is the literary or historical value of the material recovered by Sir A. Stein from these Central Asian deserts with such immense toil and at the price of so many and severe hardships and anxieties? The purely literary gain, we must admit, is *nil*. Historically, these sand-preserved relics disclose to us no dramatic surprises, introduce no great or striking personalities, narrate no memorable train of events, inform us of no strange or arresting episode. The brief and fragmentary texts, for the most part on narrow and incomplete slips of wood, are nearly all unimportant, even trivial in character. They are records of garrison routine in new and isolated outposts of the Han Empire, whose distance from civilized regions, and the desolation of the ghastly landscape around them, must have rendered the service of the military colonists (if we should not regard them rather as military convicts) in these watch-towers of the frontier, a veritable life in death.

That this is no exaggerated view of the exiled soldiers' lot is proved by the quotations from poems of the T'ang Dynasty with which M. Chavannes closes his admirable Introduction.

Commonplace and humdrum, however, as these disjointed archives are, they offer many points of interest to the student of Chinese history, institutions, and writing, on which I wish I had space to linger. Their evidence is beyond question or cavil. They confirm and illustrate as nothing else could many statements in the received historical works. M. Chavannes has grouped and summarized the information drawn from this earliest and most important find (at various spots along the "*limes*" protecting the great highway to the west) in

his Introduction. Is it permissible to hope that the substance of this essay may be made more generally accessible than it can ever be when confined within this large and costly volume?

The range of time within which the whole collection from the three districts excavated is comprised, so far as the dated specimens allow us to fix it, is from B.C. 98 to 153 A.D., a stretch of some 250 years. The greater part of the documents are of wood, but a few are paper, and the author points out that three of the latter certainly appear to go back to the second century of our era, and are thus the oldest specimens of paper in the world. There are also a few examples of inscribed silk. Thus the oldest piece of manuscript in the collection takes us back a little more than 2,000 years, and it surely is a fact without parallel elsewhere that the writing on this earliest example is virtually the same as the writing of to-day. It might not unnaturally be supposed that this being so the task of translation of these texts would be beset with no special difficulties. Far, very far, from that is the truth. I have worked laboriously through every one of these 991 texts, and painfully examined those of them that are reproduced in the plates, and at the end two emotions remain. One is unstinted admiration of this latest achievement of the great French sinologue. The other a deep and abiding thankfulness that the job did not fall to my lot. For the usually brief and broken nature of the legends, the frequent occurrence of indistinct or illegible characters, and not seldom of an objectionably cursive handwriting, the remote and unfamiliar circumstances of their composition, must have rendered their elucidation a duty formidable to envisage, and most exacting to carry through.

These obstacles have not failed to embarrass the French sinologue, as they must have embarrassed anyone who took the task in hand. But owing to the peculiar

qualifications of M. Chavannes on the historical side, it is certain that a larger proportion of the difficulties encountered have yielded to his efforts than could have been overcome by those of any other living scholar in this field of research. Again and again in the course of these pages he illustrates unfamiliar terms, and removes obscurities by citations from Chinese historical texts and memoirs.

A notable example of M. Chavannes' method appears in the opening of the First Section ("Documents de l'époque des Han"), which consists of a brilliant bibliographical essay on a small vocabulary published under the Han Emperor Yuan (B.C. 48-33), fragments of which were found by Stein, and constitute the only "literature"—if a vocabulary can be counted as such—recovered from the northern sites of the *limes*. But very limited in amount as this find unfortunately was, it proved really important. It provides us with the only extant examples of the traditional "prismatic" wooden slips, *ku*, or angles, as the Chinese call them, which served in early times as "books", and on which it is here recorded in the opening sentence ("Hie to the wondrous prisms") of this very vocabulary that it was inscribed. It also furnishes specimens of a hitherto lost style of writing, known only by its name *chang ts'ao*, or the "*chang* cursive hand", the true meaning of which term M. Chavannes discusses on p. 3.

I will close this notice with a few examples of the documents translated, and in doing so emit the only acid criticism I have to make on this invaluable contribution to sinology. A considerable number of the texts are transcribed without being translated, owing to their obscurity. In view of the nature of the publication, I think it would have been a service to students in such cases to have given something, even if only those phrases which the author was able to recognize. The other point

is that the rendering of certain characters as personal names has not always seemed to carry conviction.

Here are a few typical passages, all taken from the northern group of sites, to which considerations of space in the journal confine me.

“La cinquième année *ti tsie* (65 av. J.-C.), le troisième mois, l’inspection le long de la barrière sera entreprise.” (No. 37, p. 18.)

“Le dixième mois, le jour *ting-hai* (24), la moitié de la soirée n’étant pas encore atteinte, un signal de feu (vint) du côté de l’Est.” (No. 86, p. 32.)

“Le jour *ki-yeou*. dix cavaliers. un d’entre eux a fait la cuisine. un d’entre eux a monté la garde. les huit autres ont fabriqué des briques. chaque homme a fabriqué 150 briques. en tout il a été fabriqué 1,200 briques.” (No. 281, pp. 67-8.)

“Administration du chef de poste de la section occidentale ; nous transmettons pour le neuvième mois (la liste) des soldats et de chiens de garde dont il faut fournir la nourriture ; les noms des hommes sont comme ci-après.” (No. 487, p. 108.)

And to finish on a more human and convivial note : “Depuis longtemps nous ne nous étions pas vus ; en nombreuse compagnie nous nous trouvâmes rassemblés et nous en profitâmes pour causer avec plaisir des choses passées et pour nous demander de nos nouvelles ; en ce moment, moi, *Tch’en-K’ing*, j’y pris tant de joie que je bus, en réponse aux toasts qu’on me portait, jusqu’à quatre ou cinq *cheng*.” (No. 174, p. 50.)

So it was then two thousand years ago, as it is now, they mounted guard, they made bricks, they sent in official returns. And in the evening they sometimes met old friends, and drank wine with them, “even to four or five pints.”

L. C. HOPKINS.

BUDDHIST CHINA. By REGINALD FLEMING JOHNSTON.
London : John Murray, 1913.

The six Chinese characters stamped on the cover of this book give almost as appropriate an index of its contents as its actual title. Their meaning is that all earthly beings are destined ultimately to reach the haven of Buddhahood. Such in essence is the message of salvation offered by the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, which has for at least fifteen centuries exerted an incalculable influence—religious, ethical, and artistic—over the Chinese race, and may justly be described as one of the most powerful spiritual forces in the world. Hitherto Western literature dealing with this great subject has been scanty and unsatisfactory. The writings of Edkins, Eitel, Beal, and Richard leave much to be desired in point of accuracy, and it cannot be denied that the work of at least one of them is marred by Christian bias. Such inadequate treatment is hardly surprising when it is considered what are the qualifications required for the task. First, acquaintance with the voluminous Buddhistic literature written in such a peculiar form of Chinese that it almost might be considered a distinct language; secondly, ability to grasp in a non-partisan spirit the intellectual and philosophical as well as the purely religious and practical aspects of the system; and thirdly, personal contact with the religion as it exists to-day in the principal monasteries and pilgrim shrines scattered over the length and breadth of China. No previous writer has possessed these qualifications in such large measure as Mr. Johnston, and there can be no hesitation in assigning to *Buddhist China* the position of chief authority among books on this subject. But this is no mere textbook. Its charm of style and breadth of outlook carry its interest beyond the province of Buddhist scholarship, and make it appeal to a wider public—to the

general reader as well as to all students of Oriental art and philosophy.

The three chapters devoted to Ti-tsang (Sanskrit, Kshitigarbha) and to Mount Chiu Hua, where special reverence is paid this bodhisattva, may be considered the most important for the reason that here the author traverses ground as yet practically unexplored by Western writers. The few who have noticed Ti-tsang have done so briefly and inaccurately; and, so far as I know, no serious attempt has been made to describe his chief shrine—the great pilgrim resort in Anhui, which ranks as one of the “Four Famous Hills” of China. If, for example, we turn to Edkins’s *Chinese Buddhism*, which up to the present has been the standard work on the subject, we find scarcely a word relating to Chiu Hua Shan beyond the repeated statement that it is situated “near Nanking”!

Deriving his material from Chinese sūtras, the author paints a vivid picture of Ti-tsang, and tells how the *p'u-sa* vowed to devote himself to the salvation of suffering mankind until all had been brought to the bliss of perfect enlightenment. In the carrying out of his self-imposed task Ti-tsang of a necessity often encounters and controls the powers of the underworld, hence writers have been misled into calling him the “Ruler of Hell”, and even identifying him with Yama—the Chinese Yenlo. As for the beliefs that associate Ti-tsang with the world of the dead, Mr. Johnston attributes them to the influence of similar legends relating to divinities of Hinduism, and in support of this view he points to the intermingling of Indian religions that was taking place during the whole period of Indian Buddhist missionary activity in China. Like the original bodhisattvas, Kuan-yin, P'u-hsien, and Wên-shu, the real Ti-tsang is not identified with any historical personage; but, on the other hand, he is believed by Chinese Buddhists to have been incarnated

in a pilgrim monk who eventually became the patron saint of Mount Chiu Hua. About the middle of the eighth century a Buddhist pilgrim named Chin Ch'iao-chio landed on the coast of Kiangsu. He is popularly believed to have been a prince of Siam, but the author corrects this error and brings evidence to connect him with the reigning house of a certain kingdom in South-Eastern Korea. The story is that he had renounced the pomp and vanities of court life for the lot of an ordinary monk, and come to China in search of some mountain retreat in which to spend his days in tranquil contemplation. At length his wanderings brought him to Mount Chiu Hua, and, charmed by its beauty and seclusion, he made it his home and there remained for the rest of his life. Portents that occurred at the time of his death and the fact that his corpse defied corruption, together with other evidence, led his disciples to recognize in him an incarnation of Ti-tsang. As such he has since been revered, and it is claimed that his undecomposed remains are still preserved in a shrine which is counted the holiest among the many dotted about the mountain-side.

The present writer might add that according to local tradition Chin Ch'iao-chio before reaching Mount Chiu Hua lived for a time on a hill close to the city of Wuhu. A fall he sustained there caused him to regard the place as unlucky and to travel further in search of a dwelling. Memory of the legend is preserved by a number of temples and shrines built on the slope of the hill and presumably designed to represent a kind of miniature Chiu Hua Shan, for many of the names of buildings at the great pilgrim mountain are here reproduced, and there is even a replica on a small scale of its relic shrine, though here the contents are said to be nothing more than the saint's priestly robes.

More familiar than Ti-tsang to Western readers is the *p'u-sa* Kuan-yin, for on account of her popularity and

picturesque attributes she has been made the theme of countless Chinese artists—in painting, ceramics, and sculpture. The last third of the book is devoted to this bodhisattva and to the beautiful island in the Chusan group held especially sacred to her. Owing to its accessibility P'u-t'u Shan has often been visited by Europeans, and there is no lack of literature concerning the island by Western writers. Some of the early Christian missionaries have left records of their visits which contain passages marked by that intolerance of alien faiths so often a regrettable feature of missionary enterprise in China. And in this connexion it is interesting to note—especially now that criticism of the methods of Christian propaganda in China is on the increase—the opinion of one with such wide experience as the author on the much-debated question of how far missionaries are answerable for the sad history of China's foreign relations. He says:—

“The old-fashioned denunciations of heathenism may strike us in these days as merely whimsical, and perhaps as a trifle ludicrous, but we should not forget that the intolerant zeal of the Christian pioneers was, unfortunately, not confined to the writing of books and papers for the edification of their Western supporters, but also displayed itself in countless acts and words of gross discourtesy (to say the least) towards a people with whom courtesy and tolerance of others' foibles are among the first of virtues. Those acts and words were to a great extent responsible, not only for many of the anti-foreign outbreaks that used to be so frequent, but also for the pitiful misunderstandings which have so long prevented East and West from getting to know and appreciate one another's good qualities.”

As already hinted, the scope of this book is not confined to the history and doctrinal development and sacred places of Buddhism in China, but includes, by way of introduction, a general survey of the system named by its adherents Mahāyāna—Great Vehicle—in contradistinction

to the primitive Buddhism of the Pāli canon which Mahāyānist have chosen to call Hīnayāna, or Small Vehicle. The author discredits the prevalent theory that the rise of the Mahāyāna school was directly due to support given by King Kanishka and to authority conferred by the Council of Kashmir; on the contrary, he traces its growth from the earliest stages of the religion. Indeed, he gives reasons for believing that the most characteristic beliefs of the Mahāyāna, such as the divinity of Buddha, the efficacy of faith, and the saving power of bodhisattvas, actually emanated from the discussions and disputes of Hīnayāna schools. Conclusions such as these lend weight to the protest made by Suzuki against the unfair estimate of the religion come to by most Western students of Buddhism, owing to the fact that their information has been drawn exclusively from Pāli sources. And it may safely be prophesied that future development of our knowledge of Buddhism will be largely based upon the study of Mahāyānist documents in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, more especially the last, since many valuable texts are preserved only in their Chinese versions.

But it must not be imagined that a study of this subject is concerned merely with the dry bones of a faith—with a history of sects, saints, and philosophies. Despite a prevalent belief to the contrary, Buddhism still exerts a strong hold over the hearts and minds of the Chinese race, and, as pointed out in the preface to this book, so far from being moribund, it has recently shown signs of renewed vitality. During the last few years a new Buddhist organization has been established with ramifications throughout the country. It is controlled by a central Representative Church Council, composed of both laymen and ordained monks, and has for its object the protection and furtherance of the interests of the faith. An example of the charitable side of its work is the flourishing orphanage maintained in Peking, where

some 250 foundling boys are housed, fed, and taught various trades. Of recent date, also, is the appearance of two monthly magazines devoted to subjects of interest to Buddhists; and last year there was published in Shanghai a complete new edition of that prodigious collection of Buddhistic literature known as the Chinese Tripitaka.

Space does not permit of more than passing reference to the fascinating chapters concerned with the little-known subject of religious pilgrimages. It is not the good fortune of many to visit in person the Sacred Hills of China, but no one who cares for the less materialistic side of Chinese life should miss accompanying in imagination the author to some of these pilgrim shrines; "for" (to quote his words) "it is a fact that few of us can hope to gain true insight into the spiritual core of Chinese culture until we have followed in the footsteps of the great poets and painters of T'ang, Sung, and Ming, and have wandered as they did among the beautiful mountain-homes of monastic Buddhism."

It remains to remark on the excellence of the print and of the illustrations, which number over sixty, and are most of them pictures from the author's camera. It seems a pity that a work of such permanent interest as this was not deemed worthy of better paper and binding. Exception must also be taken to the capricious way Chinese characters are used in the text, and to the absence of Chinese names from the index. Surely such a strange omission cannot have been intended by the author, and it seems probable that a separate index of Chinese names with their corresponding characters had been prepared, but by some mischance was left out. Romanization of Chinese being but a poor makeshift, it cannot be too strongly emphasized how essential is the provision of characters to the scholarly value of a book of this nature.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

WORLD-HEALERS ; OR, THE LOTUS GOSPEL AND ITS
BÔDHISATTVAS COMPARED WITH EARLY CHRISTIANITY.
By E. A. GORDON. With a Letter by the Rev. A. H.
SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Assyriology,
Oxford, a World-map, Index, and 65 Illustrations.
2 vols. Revised and enlarged. London: Eugene L.
Morice. Cloth, £1 12s. 6d.; paper, £1 10s.

Ever since the days of Herodotus, "the Father of Anthropology" as he has been styled, mankind has been interested in noting the customs and habits of different races, but it is only of late years that men's minds have been directed into the right lines for the comparative study of religions, under the guidance first of Hegel. This study has now developed to such an extent that the science of religion has taken its place with the numerous other elder-born sciences and well established its *raison d'être*.

These two volumes form one of the numerous works which now issue from the press on this branch of knowledge. They are the product of an enthusiast, one among the many "lovers of the past". Infinite pains must have been taken and incessant and untiring labour over many years to gather together the immense mass of material here found, to say nothing of the libraries of tomes which must have been read and consulted.

A world-view of the world-field is so vast that the contents of this book are limited, as the title implies, to only one branch of this subject, viz. the comparison of Christianity and Buddhism, and that of the Mahāyāna type of the latter, principally as manifested in Japan. Dr. Timothy Richard says of the authoress in his *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (p. 147, note) that she "has studied Buddhism and Shintoism in Japan so sympathetically and thoroughly that some of the leading

priests there say that she knows their religion better than any foreigner in the land". She has thus been well prepared to note every point of similarity between primitive Christianity and its later developments and the branch of Buddhism known as the greater vehicle, whether in temple, ritual, ceremonial, symbol, image, thought, or its expression.

The late Professor Max Müller has pointed out that "there are startling coincidences between Buddhism and Christianity", and almost every one of these is here brought together and placed in juxtaposition. Doubtless some of the Hon. Mrs. Gordon's readers will think that not all those thus brought together have affinity one with the other; but an immense mass is here ready for the student to exercise his ingenuity on and accept or reject. Some of the similarities and coincidences in different religions "show not only that mankind is religious, but that there is under all diversity a unity of religion", but others give indubitable proof of the borrowing of one religion from another, and Northern Buddhism is indebted in not a few particulars and beliefs to Christianity.

Professor Chautepie de la Saussage says: "There is great danger of being deceived by false analogies and attractive parallels" (*Science of Religion*, p. 654). But while retaining this saving grace of caution, it must be remembered what recent discoveries have shown of intercourse between the Far East and the West in ancient and mediaeval times and how Nestorian and other Christian churches penetrated to the then remote regions of the earth, and it is wellnigh impossible to believe that they exerted no influence on other religions.

Our authoress's aim is therefore to prove that in the New Buddhism we have Christianity clad in a Buddhist garb and nomenclature (p. 255).

J. DYER BALL.

L'ILE DE JAVA SOUS LA DOMINATION FRANÇAISE. Par OCTAVE J. A. COLLET. Bruxelles: Librairie Falk Fils, 1910.

This book has been waiting an unconscionable time for its notice in these columns. For the delay I must apologize, but it is not perhaps altogether a drawback: the work does not deal with matters of momentary interest requiring immediate discussion, and since it came into my hands, more than two years ago, I have been immersed in a library of papers connected with its subject and am therefore better prepared to discuss it than I should formerly have been. Even so, however, I cannot hope to do it full justice: for it is a work of singular merit, copiously reinforced with references to an innumerable array of authorities, both published and in MS., and it can fairly claim to be a conscientious and comprehensive performance, the adequate criticism of which would require almost as much research as its production has evidently entailed. My task, therefore, must be the more modest one of giving a general idea of its value and contents, together with such observations on some of many issues raised in it as my own more limited study of the period enables me to offer.

The first part of the book gives some interesting details of the early French attempts to get into connexion with the Indian Archipelago. These were well worth recording, but they have no essential relation with the main subject of the work. There is a charming ambiguity about certain words in the French language; and one in particular, the word *réunion*, has served to cover many a case of what in our blunter tongue is simply styled annexation. Between the early exploits of French mariners and traders and the ultimate, but very brief, French rule in Java there is no organic connexion whatever; though if that rule had become a permanent one, an *ex post facto* case would no doubt have been made

out for it in the usual way. As it is, these chapters are, in a manner, a mere prelude. The real essence of the book is the career of Governor-General Daendels, the last but one of the Dutch administrators of the island who preceded the British conquest. His previous history, the details and principles of his administration, the brief and inglorious reign of his successor, and the capture of Java by our expeditionary force, these make up the substance of M. Collet's work.

In dealing with such a strenuous page of such relatively recent history, it is (I suppose) inevitable that even the most judicially minded writer should take sides. M. Collet, it may as well be said at once, is a whole-hearted worshipper at the shrine of Daendels. Daendels' enemies are his enemies, his friends are M. Collet's friends too. As few men had bitterer enemies than Daendels, it follows that a good many of his contemporaries come in for some pretty hard knocks at the hands of our author. It is not to be denied that in some cases these are thoroughly well deserved. When Daendels took over the administration of Java (and the rest of the Dutch East Indies) everything there was in a radically rotten state; the last days of the old Dutch Company had been an era of decay and dissolution, and since its supersession by the Government there had hardly been time for a thoroughgoing reform. Consequently Daendels had the unpleasant task of cleaning out an Augean stable; and it is not surprising that in the process he made many enemies; in fact, it was inevitable that he should, particularly among the incompetent and corrupt members of the official hierarchy.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that he gave his opponents any number of handles for criticism. By temperament and upbringing a soldier of the Revolution, he combined the most wide-sweeping notions of reform with a highly autocratic manner and frame of mind. Though he had in early youth taken a legal degree, he

had not the slightest instinctive respect for the law: with him it was always "*sic volo, sic jubeo*", and his measures, even when most salutary in substance, were apt to offend by the arbitrary way in which they were introduced and enforced. In short he had some of the defects, as well as the qualities, of his great master Napoleon. It is no wonder, therefore, that his administration was most severely criticized by many of his contemporaries, and has been the subject of much heated discussion even until now. Dutch authorities are much divided in their verdict upon it, as well as in their estimate of the man himself. But to M. Collet he is the hero of the period, a truly epic figure, a Gulliver among a horde of Lilliputians.

It may be safely assumed that this estimate is pitched a trifle too high. Daendels was a great man, and he was set a task too great for any man, perhaps, to perform in the short time that was allotted to him. He attacked it with characteristic vigour and extraordinary energy. He did much good work; but he made some grave, some hideous, mistakes. His mailed first policy had its inevitable consequences in disorders and insurrections, as for instance at Bantam, of which he must bear the moral responsibility. At the same time account must be taken of the extraordinary difficulties of his position. At the time when he assumed the administration, the Colonial Government was utterly crippled financially; the war with Great Britain, by almost entirely cutting Java off from external trade and intercourse, had practically reduced it to the position of an invested city. Under these circumstances it is not altogether surprising that Daendels clutched at desperate remedies, some of which only aggravated the evils of the situation. It must not be forgotten, too, that apart from mere party and personal feelings, which have done so much to stir up discussion over his personality and his measures, there was an even

more fundamental difference between Daendels and many of the colonial Dutchmen of his time. He was, in all but birth, practically a Frenchman, and heartily welcomed the French supremacy and the eventual annexation to France. On the other hand, a large party of his compatriots in Java remained thorough Dutchmen, loathing the idea of French rule and objecting very much to the French officers who were foisted upon them. In fact, a very considerable section, though as in duty bound they did their best to defend the island against the British invasion, honestly welcomed the British occupation the moment it was seen to be inevitable, and were relieved to be rid of a domination that was tyrannical without (under Janssens' regime) being efficient. To M. Collet, apparently, it seems a monstrous thing that the Dutch in Java, or a considerable section of them, should have been anti-French and even pro-British. For my part I fail to see why they should have been grateful to Napoleon for treating them as so many pawns in his game. But whatever view we may take on that point, it is plain that the existence of these feelings made Daendels' task all the harder.

With the best will in the world, I cannot bring myself to admire every feature of M. Collet's idol. The incident, which he recalls with approval on pp. 249-50, of Daendels' exaggerated pomposity and brutality to a subordinate who was apparently in ill-health, ending in the latter's suicide, seems to me quite a sufficient index of the seamy side of the great man's character. And it is by no means the worst case that has been brought up against him. For all that, Raffles (who became Lieutenant-Governor of Java as soon as we had conquered the island), while maintaining a critical attitude towards his forerunner and severely censuring several features of his administration, nevertheless appreciated much of his work. In a dispatch to Governor-General Lord Minto, of which I have seen

a copy in MS. at the India Office Library (Mackenzie Private Collection, vol. xiii, p. 313), he writes: "a much more regular, active, pure and efficient administration was established on this Island by Marshal Daendels than ever existed before in any period of the Dutch Company." I think both the ardent partisans and the vehement detractors of the Marshal might be content to leave it at that; for Raffles, both by position and temperament, was peculiarly well qualified to form an impartial opinion on the subject. His strenuous opposition to Dutch policy and influence in the Archipelago did not prevent him from working harmoniously with the Dutch officials who after the British conquest of Java held important posts in his administration, and the value of their services was acknowledged by him in ungrudging terms.

Here I must step aside to enter a protest against an *obiter dictum* of M. Collet's which I conceive to be entirely unworthy of him. On pp. 316-17, speaking of a reduction in the Dutch military and civil staff at Palembang, he says: "Cette diminution de personnel eut les plus fâcheux résultats, car la petite garnison hollandaise fut massacrée, probablement à l'instigation de Raffles, et les Hollandais qui résidaient à Palembang, assassinés de la façon la plus cruelle et la plus perfide." I submit that this is not the way in which history should be written: to insinuate a grave charge in a parenthetical clause, without evidence or even references of any kind in support of it, is not what we call "playing the game". I am well aware that this matter has been previously discussed by other writers, some of whom have drawn from the evidence before them conclusions very much the same as M. Collet's. But that does not justify his observation. This, however, is not the place to deal with the substance of the case on its merits. I hope to have an opportunity of doing so at some future time, and would merely remark here and now

that evidence as yet unpublished exists which will throw additional light on the subject, and may modify very considerably the harsh judgments that have been pronounced concerning Raffles' action in this most deplorable affair.

Apart from the unfortunate *obiter dictum* I have quoted and a few minor matters, such as occasional eccentricities in the spelling of proper names, I have found little to cavil at in M. Collet's work. There will be many who, like myself, cannot agree with all his estimates or share his point of view. But every one must unreservedly give him credit for wide and painstaking research, a great mastery of details and facts, and the very high literary gift of being able to throw them into a readable and interesting form. The book is well printed, and several appendices and an index add materially to its usefulness as a work of reference. In view of the large number of authorities cited, the absence of a bibliographical list is regrettable.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

RELATIONS DE VOYAGES ET TEXTES GÉOGRAPHIQUES ARABES, PERSANS ET TURKS RELATIFS À L'EXTRÊME-ORIENT DU VIII^e AU XVIII^e SIÈCLES. Traduits, revus et annotés par GABRIEL FERRAND. Tome premier. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913.

M. Ferrand's work is a further instalment of the series so well inaugurated by M. Coedès' *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, which I noticed in this Journal some time ago. Much of what was said then could be repeated now, particularly the views I expressed as to the object and utility of these collections of texts. But I do not propose to go over this ground again, and shall confine myself to a few notes and queries on M. Ferrand's book. It is only the first of three

volumes, and therefore any notice of it at present must necessarily be provisional. Moreover, M. Ferrand has so planned his work that it will be impossible to deal at all adequately with the questions raised in vol. i till vol. iii has appeared. For in the latter he is to give us a number of separate dissertations on these matters. We have before us, therefore, his conclusions, but we await his reasons in support of them. Under these circumstances criticism can only be tentative.

In his preface and introduction M. Ferrand deals amongst other things with the phonetic phenomena disclosed by the Arab transcriptions of foreign proper names. The chief points elucidated are that ج often represents *g* and ص, *ǧ*, the palatal sūrd. Whether he is right in drawing the conclusion that ص in Arabic was formerly such a palatal, is a matter which I must leave to the decision of Semitic scholars. For the purpose in hand, viz., the identification of foreign names, it would be quite sufficient to conclude that ص was the nearest thing the Arabs had got in their phonetic scheme to *ǧ*, and that they therefore made use of it as the best substitute, just as they use ف for the Indonesian *p* habitually. Be that as it may, M. Ferrand's treatment of the phonetic questions involved is systematic and therefore inspires confidence. In that respect it differs very widely from the methods that have often obtained in this very field of studies; identifications have frequently been based on sheer guesses without the least attempt at establishing any guiding principle.

The authors from whose works extracts are given range from Ibn Khordādzbeh in the ninth century A.D. to Ibn al-Bayṭār in the thirteenth, and the information contained in the translated texts is of a somewhat miscellaneous character, though mainly geographical. It would, no doubt, be still more varied were it not for the fact that these Arab writers appear to have been the most shameless

plagiarists conceivable. Some of the earlier ones are not only the most interesting, but have also the rare merit of being original. M. Ferrand has somewhat extended the geographical area dealt with in this series, for he has admitted a good deal of information relating to China and India, and very curious some of it is, particularly (to my thinking) the account of Indian sects in Abu'l-Faradj's *Fihrist*. However, I must pass to matters which concern me more closely and which take up the greater part of the volume, viz. the East Indian islands and Further India.

Now as regards Indonesia, a large part of these Arabian authorities have been dealt with by Heer G. P. Rouffaer in the *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, s.v. Tochten (Oudste Ontdekkings-) tot 1497. One may differ from that learned scholar on particular issues, but it is impossible to read his article without feeling that his conclusions are entitled to very great weight and the most careful consideration. I am not sure whether M. Ferrand has taken them into account. One question of primary importance confronts us the moment we try our hand at interpreting the Arab accounts of Indonesia, viz. the meaning to be attached in our various sources to the place-names *Zābaj* (زاج) and *Jābah* (جاب). What is the true phonetic background represented by these Arabic forms? And do they both stand for one island (and if so what island?), or does either of them stand sometimes for one island and sometimes for another, or perhaps as often as not for Indonesia in general, so far as the Arabs were acquainted with it? As regards the first point, there can be little hesitation in referring these names to the Indonesian proper name *Jāwa*, the native form out of which Europeans have made *Java*. We have the high authority of Professor Kern for the explanation of the form *Zābaj*, which M. Ferrand also accepts, viz. that it is intended for *Jāwaga*, presumably a weakened form of

Jāwaka, that is to say, the native name *Jāwa* (no matter what its origin or precise meaning in remote times) with an Indian termination affixed. It would be rash to differ from that view, though for my own part I have sometimes wondered whether the word could not be read *Jāwadyu* and thus brought into line with Ptolemy's *Iabadiu* (where the termination is plainly a Prakritized *dvīpa*). Be that as it may, why do we find the two variants *Zābaj* and *Jābah* in one and the same author, Ibn Khordādzbeh, the earliest authority of them all? I hope M. Ferrand's promised excursus on the matter will give us the explanation of this problem.

So far as I can gather, he inclines (though not without some hesitation) to regard both these names as applicable, at any rate in the earlier Arab sources, to the island of Java. Rouffaer, on the other hand, treats them as terms used loosely, sometimes referring to Java and sometimes to Southern Sumatra. This is partly a matter of topographical evidence as to the special local appropriateness of particular passages in the Arab sources, partly an issue depending on more general grounds. I cannot go into the points of local detail here. But we know for a fact that the Arabs themselves have applied the proper name *Jāwa* to other islands besides Java itself. As M. Ferrand himself points out, the later Arab writers call Sumatra by that name. The modern Arabs style Indonesians in general *Jāwī*, and the word has been adopted into Malay as the proper name for the Malay language when written in the Arabic character. Then, again, among the Indonesians themselves *Jāwa* occurs as an ethnic name in parts of Indonesia, and on occasions, where no reference to the Javanese people is, or could by any possibility have been, intended; we find it so used in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula to denote the more civilized Indonesians of those regions (generally Malays) as contrasted with some less advanced neighbours of the same or some other

stock.¹ There is therefore considerable plausibility in the contention that the Arabs did not, even in very early days, confine the name to Java. (I may add that the late Colonel Gerini's view, that in those days it meant only Sumatra, does not commend itself to me either.) And there is the further question whether *Jāwa* is a genuine native word or represents the Sanskrit *yava*, "barley."

It is to be hoped that further light will be thrown on these debatable points. There are many other problems, and I have but little space even to refer to them here. There is, for instance, the mysterious kingdom of Rahmā, identified by M. Ferrand with Pegu. The king possessed fifty thousand elephants, and the country produced a velvety kind of cotton goods and also Indian eaglewood, we are told by Ibn Khordādzbeh, who adds that the country is a year's march distant from the other Indian kingdoms. Ya'kūbī says that it is the most powerful and extensive of all countries, borders on the sea, and contains gold and precious metals. But Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī (who also mention the elephants and likewise lay some stress on rhinoceros horns as a product of the country) apparently speak of it as if it bordered on Gujerat, which seems to throw considerable doubt on its identification with Pegu. There is another difficulty. Why the name Rahmā? In these writers of the ninth and tenth centuries one would have expected something like *Ramen* or *Raman*. In the fifteenth century the Pāli name for the coast districts of Lower Burma which at that time made up the Pegu kingdom was *Rāmaññadesa*. The local native equivalent at that period was *rah Rman*, which appears constantly in the Talaing (or Mon) text of the Kalyāṇī inscription of Pegu. *Rah* (which is the Sanskrit *rāṣṭra*)

¹ The use of the word in Indo-China, though it might be urged in support of my view, I regard as merely secondary evidence, hardly strengthening the case.

means "country", and *Rman* (evidently to be pronounced *Rĕman*) is the native ethnic name, nowadays pronounced *Mōn*, the *r* prefix having dropped (as in *min*, "to hear," anciently *rmin*). Why, then, did scholars introduce a palatal into the Pāli form of the word? ¹ Plainly because the ancient final was formerly *ñ*, not *n*. There is some ground for the conjecture that the name in the eleventh century was *Rmeñ* (probably = *Rĕmèñ*, with an open *e*). This is based on a doubtful reading of a much-weathered inscription, but is also supported by some analogies. However, though I do not press it strongly, we seem to be working away from the form *Rahmā*, and, in any case, the absence of the final nasal requires explanation.

In connexion with *Ṣundur-fūlāt* some difficulties seem to arise. If it represents Pulo Condor, why should navigators on their way to China call at it *after* visiting Champa, which lies beyond it? And if *fūlāt* represents a Persian plural of the Malay *pulau*, "island," why does it not precede the proper name as generic names do in Malay and in Indonesian and Southern Indo-Chinese languages generally? Further, if *ṣundur* represents a native form *čundur*, whence the hard *c* (= *k*) of our modern form of the word? I am not aware that Malay changes *č* to *k* in an initial position.

More might be said about such matters of detail, but I refrain and will merely add that if some points still remain doubtful (to my mind at any rate), there is on the other hand a great deal in M. Ferrand's work which must command assent, and his method is to be praised for its consistency and precision. The other volumes of his valuable work will be awaited with much interest and eager expectation.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

¹ The long *ā* in the first syllable is doubtless due to a reminiscence of the Indian proper name *Rāma* and its derivatives.

BABYLONIAN OIL MAGIC IN THE TALMUD AND IN THE LATER JEWISH LITERATURE. By SAMUEL DAICHES, Ph.D., Lecturer in Biblical Exegesis and Talmudics at Jews' College. London: Jews' College Publication, No. 5, 1913.

In this small monograph of forty-two pages, the author brings forward a very interesting series of parallels between the Babylonian inscriptions dealing with the use of oil in ceremonies, and what is found in the Talmudical writings. Oil was of old not only used for consecration, but also in certain magical formulæ, as well as in purification. What precise connexion there may have been in these three usages, is somewhat uncertain, but it may be noted that, in countries where, in the heat of summer, water is sometimes scarce, oil, when available, could be used instead, hence the cleansing power attributed to it.

The author thinks it probable that the use of oil in Egyptian magic came from the Euphrates-region. In the passage he quotes (translation by Griffith & Thompson), it was "herb-oil" which was regarded as true oil. The colours which may be produced by a thin coating of oil on water seem also to have been noticed, as in the lines from Coleridge which Dr. Daiches quotes.

Dr. Daiches shows that, from the Babylonian Talmud, there seem to have been "princes of oils", as there were also "princes of eggs", who, however, were regarded as lying spirits. In Babylonia bright and pure oil was looked upon as the child of Anu, the heavens, and Êa, the god of the sea. Oil was poured liberally over the offerings, as well as on the water in the libation-vessels, when inquiries were made of the gods. The answer was obtained from a correct interpretation of the forms which the drops assumed. Everything, however, had to be done with the most scrupulous exactness, for if a mistake in the ceremony took place a misreading might easily follow.

The priestly expert, however, probably made his experiments on most (or all) occasions conditionally. The charm was effected by whispering over the oil.

The second portion of the monograph deals with the indications of the later Jewish MSS., notably some remarkable documents of this class in the possession of Dr. Gaster. The descriptions of these rites are somewhat long, but in "the princes of the Thumb" one of the chief portions of the ceremony consisted in anointing a lad's thinned right thumb-nail. A kind of miraculous sacrifice was afterwards expected to take place, when the boy would be endowed with the power of understanding the answer to the question which had been put. Another and longer ceremony was that in which the hand of a lad, a maiden, or a pregnant woman was blackened with soot or anointed with olive oil. The medium, after the performance of the various ceremonies, would see visions, ending with that of "the king", who, when requested, would write down whatever the master of the ceremonies desired to know.

The whole is treated with Dr. Daiches's usual thoroughness and wealth of detail, and though tedious to non-specialists the long Talmudic ceremonies are not without their interest. The author is probably right in attributing a Sumerian origin to these strange rites, but the Semites also had a tendency to such things, and may not only have elaborated them, but even invented others. Dr. Daiches points out that the Babylonian diviner used the finger-nail (probably his own, and not that of a child) exactly as in the Jewish book of Remedies and Cures. A number of notes upon the texts quoted close the monograph, and in this portion the author points out how the Babylonian god Êa became ים, "the sea"; and Sin, Šamaš, and Marduk (or may the third not have been Venus?) were modified into שלשה נרות, the "three lights"

T. G. PINCHES.

THE OATH IN BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LITERATURE.

By the Rev. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., with an Appendix by Professor Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL. Paris: Geuthner, 1912.

There is no doubt that oaths played a very important part in Babylonian business-life, as in other spheres of activity. Oaths were often solemnly taken before a deity in the temple where he was worshipped, and generally before witnesses, though these do not seem to have been absolutely necessary. A certain amount of ritual attended the ceremony, but its details have still to be discovered.

Texts containing oaths have appeared in the Journal of this Society (July, 1897, and January, 1899), and show under what conditions they were sworn. In these examples the deities invoked are Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and the reigning king, and the ceremony of swearing seems to have taken place after the delivery of the judgment recorded, and therefore, in all probability, in the temple of the sun (at Sippar). In another document the oath is by Šamaš, Šabium^m (the king), and Sippar, the sacred city in which the temple of the sun stood, and where the Sun-god dwelt. A very complete list of the various deities by which these oaths were sworn is given by Dr. Mercer, as well as the conditions attending the rite. It was, of course, thought that the curse of the gods and the king would rest upon any contracting party who broke his engagement.

Various phrases were employed, as can be seen in Hammurabi's laws, where such expressions as "they (the witnesses) shall utter their testimony before the god", "he (the wronged person) shall state his loss before the god", occur; and in this kind of oath the witnesses to a contract, when there were any, were present also. In other cases the expression is *niš ili izakar*, which the author translates "in the name of god he shall declare". These and other terms and words employed in the oaths

are discussed, and the material collected ought to prove useful to students of these matters. Concerning *niš ili tamû* (or *zakāru*), Sumerian *mu dingir inpa(d)*, much might be said, but for the present it may be conceded that the author is right in regarding *nišu* as standing for "name", notwithstanding such expressions as *zi Ninlil inpa(d) = niš Enlilli itmû*, "he invoked the spirit of Ninlil," which I have hitherto regarded as the proper rendering. But surely invoking the name of a deity and his spirit are interchangeable terms, and I am rather inclined to regard the two usages of *nišu* as identical, in which case the name of the god was practically his spirit, and partook of his power—indeed, it may have been a parallel to his "face", as in *Peniel*,¹ "face of God," where Jacob "wrestled until break of day"²—not with God Himself, but with His presence.

But most noteworthy of all, probably, is the discussion of *ilput pût-ni* in the Flood-story, when, after the catastrophe, the god makes a covenant with the Babylonian Noah and his wife. These words are explained as meaning "he touched our fore- (i.e. private)-part", and the analogy of the oath between Abraham and Eliezer, who swore to him by placing his hand under his (Abraham's) thigh,³ is referred to. This seems to be a good comparison, and there is every probability that time will justify the rendering proposed.

Equally interesting and important is Professor Hommel's "Appendix", wherein that veteran Assyriologist deals with "the Oath-goddess Esh-ghanna". This is the deity whose name is generally read Nina, one of whose seats was in Babylonia (near Lagaš), whilst the other was the world-renowned Nineveh, the discovery of whose ruins has furnished us with the material for so many other discoveries in Assyriological fields. It is impossible to do justice to this valuable contribution to Assyro-Babylonian

¹ Gen. xxxii, 30.² Gen. xxxii, 24.³ Gen. xxiv, 2.

mythology in the small space remaining to me, but one point of more general interest is worthy of notice, namely, the identifications of the Pishon and the Gihon with the Wady Dawasir and the Wady Rumma in Arabia respectively. The Hiddekel, however, he seems not to identify with the Tigris, but with the Wady Sirhan, in which case "in front of Assyria" would not mean "eastward" of that country, but a long way south-westward of it. This nomenclature, however, belonged to prehistoric times, and if correct, the name (*Hidigna* = *Hiddekel*) must have been transferred to the great waterway which has played such an important part in the history of the Semitic East.

A good monograph with a most suggestive appendix.

T. G. PINCHES.

TIGLATH PILESER III. By ABRAHAM S. ANSPACHER, Ph.D. Contributions to Oriental History and Philology, No. V. New York, Columbia University Press; Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, E.C.; 1912.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser III—the Biblical Tiglath-pileser, and, according to King, the fourth of the name—is one of considerable interest and importance, and Assyriologists always live in the hope of getting more material from Assyrian or Babylonian sources. The fact that he was, or would have been, the founder of a new dynasty, the mystery surrounding his origin, and the fact that he bore also the name of Pulu (Pul)—whether his original name or given to him as a not altogether complimentary epithet is uncertain—make him one of the most striking features of ancient Assyrian history. To all appearance his is the history of an ambitious man, young, or in his prime, and possibly of royal lineage, who, bearing the same name as other renowned kings of

Assyria, aspired to and obtained the crown, and emulated with great success the warlike careers of his earlier namesakes. Though a most successful warrior, he seems not to have left behind him a name which the Assyrians of later days held in real respect, for they felt no scruples in cleaning off the bas-reliefs from his slabs, together with any inscriptions which may have accompanied them, so that much historical material is at present lost to us. Many details of his contact with the Israelites, moreover, have been rendered imperfect by the accidental mutilation (apparently) of the slabs upon which they are inscribed.

Though modest in its dimensions (the book has only seventy-eight pages), all the details are given which are necessary for the understanding of the reign of this king, which, like that of most Assyrian monarchs, was mainly occupied by warlike expeditions. Tiglath-pileser is generally regarded as having come to the throne in consequence of a kind of revolution, "anti-priestly in its character." The kingdom was dependent upon tribute for its military supremacy, and whilst this was available the temple-taxes caused no shortness of funds. The dependencies, however, seized every opportunity to escape from this burden imposed upon them by the Assyrian rulers, and the expense of maintaining the army then fell upon the people, who became discontented, with disastrous results for the ruling dynasty.

For the rest, the history of the reign of Tiglath-pileser is well told, and numerous footnotes give the results of the latest researches and discoveries in geographical identifications and other important matters in the domain of ancient history of Western Asia.

It is an excellent monograph, carefully compiled, but it needs an index badly. Also, in a book whose author has made a speciality of the geographical identifications, a map would have increased the value of the work enormously.

T. G. PINCHES.

SYRIAN ANATOMY, PATHOLOGY, AND THERAPEUTICS, OR "THE BOOK OF MEDICINES". The Syriac text, edited from a rare manuscript, with an English translation, etc., by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D. Published under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. Vol. I, Introduction, Syriac Text; Vol. II, English Translation and Index. 8vo. I. pp. clxxviii, 612; II. pp. xxv, 804. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1913.

To the indefatigable labours of Dr. W. Budge we owe now a new and welcome edition to the secular knowledge of Syriac literature. This is the first medical treatise in Syriac which has thus far been made accessible to a wider circle, and it opens up many problems of high interest. The text here published for the first time is taken from a modern transcript made for Dr. Budge by a native scribe from a more ancient MS. in the private possession of a man in Mosul. It falls into three sections, of which the first is the scientific, the second the astrological, and the third the popular, the sympathetic or magical. The very composite character of this collection makes it difficult to trace the sources and to establish direct literary parallels. The whole character of the Syriac literature precludes the idea of independent work. Most, if not all, the "exact" sciences are derived from Greek sources, some perhaps may go back to more ancient Babylonian and Egyptian practices, as suggested by Dr. Budge in his Introduction.

The first part is, then, unquestionably a translation from a Greek work of great antiquity composed probably in Alexandria. None of the names mentioned seem to be later than the second or third century C.E. Some of course are much older. In fact, the author bases his "Lectures" on the works of Asklepiades and Hippocrat, etc. It is a thoroughly methodical treatise, though unfortunately incomplete at the end. The original Syriac MS., probably of the twelfth century, had been mutilated

by the monks into whose possession it had probably come, for reasons lucidly set forth by Dr. Budge. It is a valuable contribution to Syriac philology. Rich as the great *Thesaurus* of Payne Smith is, none the less is this new material highly welcome: for this book contains all the technical expressions of Syriac anatomy, pathology, and also a complete pharmacopea. The drugs which are used in the prescriptions are here given in their proper setting, and the use to which they are put is so clearly indicated that there could be no mistake as to their true nature and character. The book is also a contribution to the history of Oriental leechcraft. The relation in which the Syriac Book of Medicine stands to the Greek sources and to Arabic books of a similar nature is an interesting problem by itself.

Dr. Budge, following his usual and happy custom, has not contented himself with the publication only of the Syriac text. He has also accompanied his publication with a faithful rendering of the Syriac into English. Many a scholar interested in the subject-matter only will be grateful to Dr. Budge for the help which he has given them by his translation. He limits himself, however, strictly to this translation. Dr. Budge does not stray further afield. He does not attempt any comparison with any other literature, nor does he refer to any other treatise containing similar materials. He evidently leaves it to specialists to deal with each point separately.

This book raises also other questions. Medicine in olden times and even down to more modern times embraces a wider field than is now assigned to it. The art of healing as well as the diagnosis of illness was not confined to the strictly anatomical and pathological knowledge possessed by the physician. Other causes and other remedies than those contained in the pathology and pharmacopea were considered to be responsible for many ills of the flesh. The heavenly bodies no less than the evil

one would play havoc with man's health, and accordingly special devices had to be invented in order to ascertain the former and drive away, if possible, the latter. Thus it comes to pass that about a third of this Book of Medicine is given up to astrological treatises with nativities and horoscopes and other weird calculations derived from the stations of the heavenly bodies and their inter-relations to one another and with man in every situation of life.

In addition to these astrological investigations we have, then, other calculations devised for similar purposes of leechcraft and fortune-telling—they often go hand in hand. These are based on the numerical value of the letters of the patient's name, with numerous permutations and combinations. The Arabic and Jewish literature is full of such cabbalistic calculations. They are a common property of the East. It would be interesting to follow them up to their older source and to connect them with Gnostic and Pythagorean speculations about numbers, letters, and figures. In any case, we have here a valuable contribution to the vastly accumulating material.

One of the chapters of these Calculations is the famous "War Game" ascribed to Aristotle. It forms part of the *Secretum Secretorum* (chs. ix, x) of my edition of the Hebrew version. Nothing as far as I am aware has hitherto been known of the Syriac version of this book. The existence of such a version has in fact been doubted, together with the statement in the Introduction to the Arabic version—which is the primary source for all the European versions—that the Arabic was a translation from a Syriac "Suryan" text. This was not taken literally. Now that a Syriac text has come to light and with it a portion of the *Secretum* as the book of Aristotle—though the name of the book is not mentioned—the history of that remarkable book can be traced one step higher up. Another chapter in the Book of Medicine, that on the

seasons of the year, the proper food, etc., may also be derived from the dietetic of the *Secretum* (ch. xii), with which it agrees very closely. Of course, it is possible that this chapter has been taken from some other Greek composition, of which a good number are extant, but the similarity between the Syriac Book of Medicine and the *Secretum* is very striking and suggestive.

Finally, there is a section devoted to what I might call "sympathetic magic", i.e. healing by sympathetic action, most of which is known as "superstitious" practice and lies at the root, or at least forms part, of many charms and amulets. It is used either for prevention or for cure. The line is not often sharply drawn. This part contains no less than four hundred recipes representing what I would call "popular medicine", the syncretism of older practices and popular materia medica consisting of the most diverse ingredients. It might just as well be called the pharmacopea of the ancient "medicine man". To this class, which has survived to our very day in the practices of the "quack" and "bone-setter", belongs a large section of mediaeval folk medicine. Such collections of leechcraft abound in Arabic, Hebrew MSS. (*Sefer Refuoth* and *Seguloth*), in Greek (*Iatrika*), and in Western books on leechcraft. It would be a valuable undertaking to compare these collections and to establish their interdependence.

A comparison of this book with Arabic (or Hebrew) books of medicine might perhaps help to discover the name of the author and the date of this book. For the oldest Arabic (and Hebrew) works on medicine—perhaps with the exception of the hitherto unexplained *Asaf*—are translations from the Syriac. The Syriac text, having been printed from the MS., offers every guarantee for reliability, and the translation, though literal, is none the less clear. It was not an easy task to render smoothly difficult passages and to find English equivalents for the

technical expressions in which the text abounds. A full index increases still more the value of this publication, and makes it accessible and serviceable to a larger circle of readers and students. A word of appreciation must be added to the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, who have defrayed the expense of this splendid publication.

M. GASTER.

PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM. Pars XVI. R. Brünnows Arabische Chrestomathie aus prosaschriftstellern in zweiter Auflage völlig neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von AUGUST FISCHER. 8vo; pp. xvi, 183, 161. Berlin, 1913.

It is often a thankless task to undertake a new edition of the work of another author. When such an edition is demanded it is a proof that the first had met with a favourable reception, that it has answered a demand, and by the sale of the book that it had established for itself a reputation and created a certain tradition. None of these considerations can then be ignored by the second editor. He is bound to follow the first author on the lines laid down by him, and to a certain extent within the compass of the first edition. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks and handicaps, a wise publisher, reckoning on the indulgence of an appreciating public and the authority enjoyed by the man who is willing to undertake this task, will leave to the latter sufficient latitude.

This has happily been the case with the second edition of Brünnow's well-known Arabic Chrestomathy, the second edition of which has been entrusted to the learned Professor of Arabic at the Leipzig University, Dr. A. Fischer, who has carried out the task with consummate skill, and has practically recast the old book.

The first edition consisted of 151 pages Arabic text. This one has no less than 183. Out of the first 151 only 29 pages have been retained by Professor Fischer, and for

the eliminated texts he has substituted abstracts from the Koran in the recension of Beidawi ed. Fleischer, Sakir Albatluni, Tabari, Ibn Hisham, Ibn Halikan, and Buhari, all classical authors.

It is not necessary to dwell on the importance of placing in the hands of the student well-chosen texts representing many shades and forms of style and language, to cover as wide a field as possible, and yet to compress the selection into a small compass. If it is important for any Oriental, especially Semitic language, it is invaluable for Arabic, considering the immense wealth of the material in the latter, as compared with the scantier documents, say, in Hebrew, Syriac, or Samaritan. What a student wants is, then, not only a representative collection, as we now have here, but also a critically reliable edition of these texts. Professor Fischer has acquitted himself exceedingly well, both in the choice of the prose texts—for to these the *Chrestomathy* is limited—and in the excellent manner of printing them; some with, others without, vowels and other diacritical signs, thus helping the student on to familiarize himself with all manners of texts.

But great as this merit of the book is, it is far surpassed by the admirable glossary, which contains almost a complete and handy dictionary of the most generally used Arabic words. A complete dictionary must of necessity contain every word found in the language, irrespective of the fact as to whether it is a technical or other rarely used expression. Only those who when starting their studies had to toil painfully through the huge volumes of Freytag and Lane, and had to spend many an hour to find the meaning of very simple, but often used, words, will be able to appreciate the boon of such a compact and perfect small dictionary as contained in this glossary.

Every root found in the texts is carefully entered, and under each heading all the more important derivations

and grammatical forms are given, with an exact German translation. This, if one may venture to say, is the only troublesome feature in an otherwise excellent book. In olden times Latin was the universal language even for the "Porta", nowadays the vernacular has taken its place. It is a pity that the editor was not allowed to carry out his original intention to add in the glossary an English translation to the German. Perhaps editor and publishers might see their way to prepare an English edition, and thus make the Chrestomathy more accessible to the wider English-speaking world and increase the indebtedness of students, to whom this book is sure to prove of practical value.

The printing of the Arabic text, as well as that of the whole book, is very well done. It was done at the well-known printing establishment of Drugulin.

M. GASTER.

N. Y. MARR. IAPHETICHESKIE ELEMENTY V YAZYKAKH ARMENII. Parts I-VI. St. Petersburg, 1911-13.—IZ POYEZDOK V SVANIYU (1911-12). St. Petersburg, 1913.—IZ LINGVISTICHESKOI POYEZDKI V ABKHAZIYU. St. Petersburg, 1913.

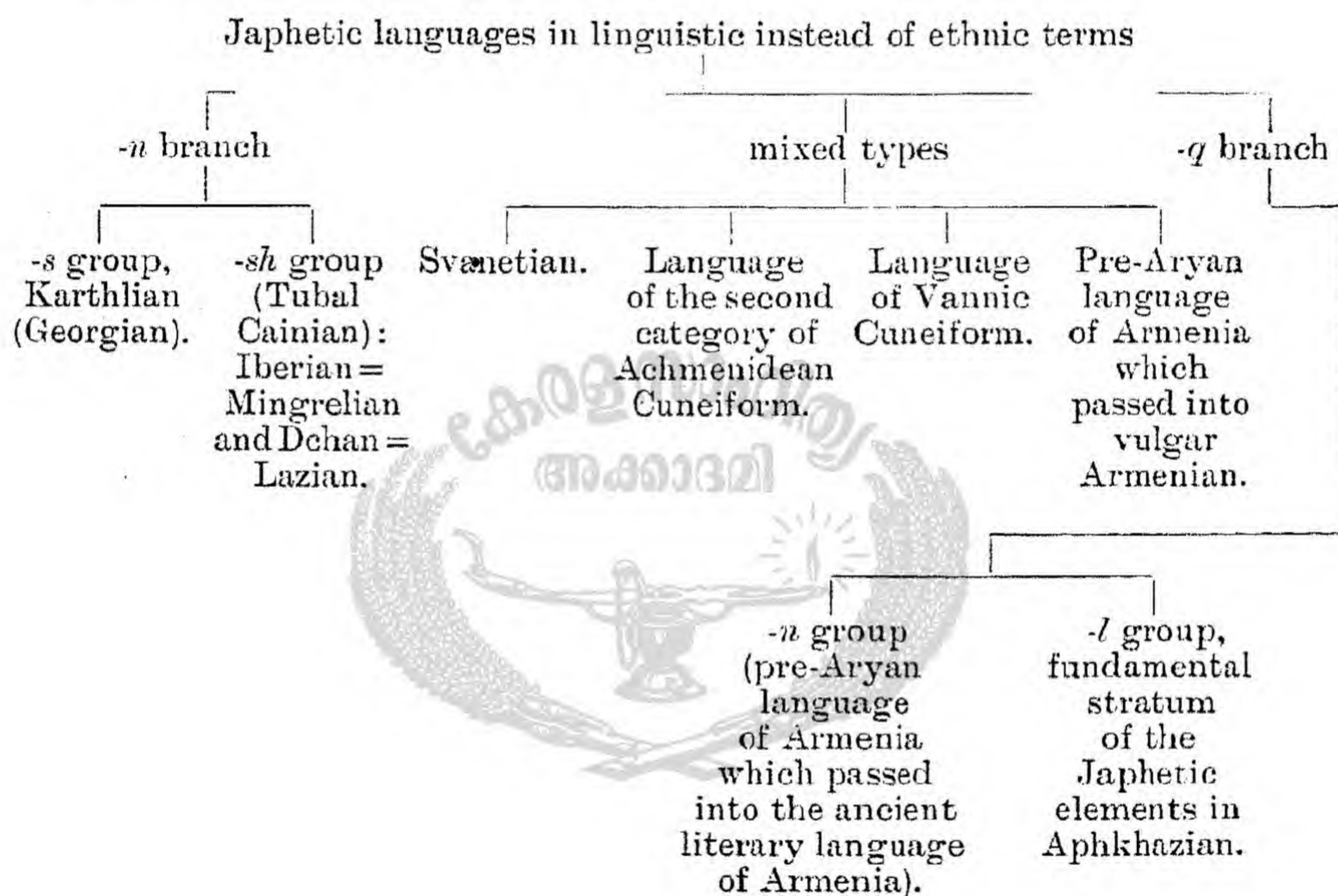
Professor Nicholas Marr, Dean of the Oriental Faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, has within the last two years published six sections of his work on the Japhetic elements in the languages of Armenia, in addition to his five previous monographs (1909-10) on the same subject. His services to the literature of Georgia by the publication of his series of ancient texts, handsomely printed by the Russian Academy, and numerous other books must in time meet with recognition in Europe, and his long-continued archæological work at the ruined city of Ani has been of great importance. A mere list of the numerous books he has written would

stimulate the study of the subjects to which he has devoted himself. It is to be regretted that he has not yet had the time to make those Western scholars who are not readers of Russian acquainted with the chief results of his labours. In Great Britain he would find a sympathetic audience and would feel at home, for it is no secret that his name and ancestry are British. His encyclopædic knowledge of the difficult languages of the Caucasus has been systematized in his "Japhetic" theory, which has not yet attracted much notice outside the Russian Empire.

The second of the books mentioned above is an account of two excursions to Svanetia with the object of studying the language, but some new ethnographic material has been written down, and evidence is given to show that the Svanetians are the descendants of a people who have wandered to their present home from the south.

The third of the volumes is an account of a similar journey in Aphkhazia, and incidentally it gives fresh evidence of the folly of official interference with the languages of the Caucasus. It seems that within the last few years the authorities have issued several volumes purporting to be Aphkhazian versions of the Gospel and the Liturgy, some school books, popular manuals on the rearing of poultry, silkworms, etc. The system of transcription employed is incorrect and unsuitable, and the books are worthless to students. The results are not only ludicrous but blasphemous, e.g. the phrase "God is a spirit" is rendered "God is a corpse"! The translators were ordered to make a literal translation of the Old Slavonic Biblical texts without any regard to sense! This is not the first instance of the kind; Mingrelian was treated in a similar way some years ago, and the "religious" books issued by the Russian ecclesiastical authorities were found to be so indecent that they had to be withdrawn from circulation. Space

fails us to give even a brief summary of the numerous interesting facts and opinions comprised in this monograph, but we would draw special attention to the two tables appended to it. The first of these is a transcription of the fifty-four sounds of the Aphkhazian language with their equivalents in Georgian, as far as possible. The second shows the relationship of the various "Japhetic" languages as follows:—



B. S. ESADZE. LÉTOPIS GRUZII. IUBILÉINII SBORNIK K 300-LETHU TSARSTVOVANIYA DOMA ROMANOVYKH 1613–1913. Vypusk I. Tiflis, 1913.

To celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanoff Tsars, who since 1801 have been *de facto* Kings of Georgia, Prince Paul Tumanishvili, Marshal of the Tiflis Nobility, has undertaken the publication of a Russian miscellany in quarto edited by Colonel Esadze, who is well known as a writer on the military and

political history of the Caucasus. The work is lavishly illustrated with historical portraits, photographs of MSS., inscriptions, ancient monuments, etc., and is in every respect an *édition de luxe* worthy of notice. The first of the three volumes has already appeared, and consists of 366 pages divided into five sections: historical, ecclesiastical, ethnographical, military, and biographical. Among the documents published in facsimile those of most value are the ratification by King Erekle II, in 1783, of his treaty with Catherine II and the last page of the same treaty (an account, in English, of the treaties between Georgia and Russia will be found on pp. 832-47 of the *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1895). The subjects treated include: the incorporation of Georgia in the Russian Empire, the previous diplomatic relations between the two countries, Georgian numismatics, Georgian officers in the Russian service. The most famous of the latter was Prince Peter Bagration, whose name is well known in the West. Another Georgian commander was Prince Alexander, son of King Archil of Imerethi, who was the first Master of Ordnance to Peter the Great and was captured by the Swedes at Narva, where he commanded the artillery; he was kept as a prisoner at Stockholm for ten years. His father wrote a curious, pathetic, holograph letter in gold paint to Charles XII in 1706; but he was not released till 1710 and died at Riga on his way back to Moscow. Archil, who was a man of letters, wrote a poem "Man's strife with the world" and versified part of "Vis and Ramîn"; he also began the edition of the Georgian Bible which Prince Vakhusht completed. The portraits of Peter the Great give some colour to the tradition among Georgians that one of their countrymen was that sovereign's father; just as Shamyl's portraits recall the story that his father was Prince Alexander, son of King George XIII of Georgia.

DZVELI SAKARTHVELO. SAKARTHVELOS SAISTORIO DA
SAETHNOGRAPHIO SAZOGADOEBIS CREBULI. T. II.
E. THAQAISHVILIS redaktorobith. Tphilisi 1911-13.
(L'Ancienne Géorgie. Mémoires de la Société
géorgienne d'histoire et d'ethnographie. Tome II.
Sous la rédaction de M. E. Takaichvili. Tiflis,
1911-13.)

The second volume of *Ancient Georgia*, issued by the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography, is of great value to students acquainted with the Georgian language. It is a handsome volume of 770 pages, provided with a good summary of its contents in French (pp. xx-xxx). It begins with memoirs of M. Tamarashvili (Tamarati), the writer of useful works in French and Georgian on church history, and of two benefactors, D. Saradjishvili and N. Ghoghoberidze, who left £15,000 and £6,000 respectively for national educational purposes. In the historical section Mr. S. Gorgadze continues his Sketch of Georgian History from the first to the fifth century A.D., elucidating the native material by means of references to foreign writers. The Rev. P. Carbelashvili deals with the historical charters of the Amilakhvari family from the end of the fourteenth century to 1724. The editor, Mr. Thaqaishvili, has five articles dealing with new historical material: (1) King Bagrat III's History of Aphkhazia, composed in the tenth century, which was used by the Patriarch Dositheus for his History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem; (2) an anonymous Summary of the History of Georgia, which corrects and explains many of the facts in the Chronicle edited under Vakhtang VI; (3 and 4) historical memoranda for the periods 1512-1803 and 1388-1656 from MSS. in the Society's library; (5) biographical notes of Prince David, son of George XIII, last king of Georgia, written by that prince in a MS. of Quintus Curtius. The ethnographical section contains exhaustive monographs on the folk-lore and languages of

Svanetia, Phshavethi (by the poet "Vazha Phshaveli"), Saingilo (by Mr. M. Djanashvili), and other parts of Transcaucasia, a collection of proverbs, and the explanation of more than a thousand Georgian words collected by Bishop Cirion and not found in Chubinov's dictionary.

ARKHEOLOGICHESKIYA EKSKURSII RAZYSKANIYA I ZAMÉTKI.
E. THAQAISHVILI. Vypusk IV. Tiflis, 1913.

The late M.-F. Brosset's *Voyage archéologique en Transcaucasie*, with its handsome volume of plates, remains a standard work on the architecture and epigraphy of Georgia. M. Thaqaishvili has been engaged for many years in supplementing and correcting it by his *Archaeological Excursions*, of which this part, the fourth (originally published in vol. xliii of the valuable series *Sbornik materialov dlya opisaniya . . . Kavkaza*), deals with the districts of Borchalo, Trialeti, Zurtakhethi (Karabulakh), Khrami glen, Manglis, and, to some extent, the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Rood at Jerusalem. In addition to the numerous inscriptions reproduced in the text, there are twenty illustrations from photographs.

ZHITIE I MUCHENICHESTVO SV. ANTONIYA-RAVAKHA.

I. QIPHSHIDZE. St. Petersburg, 1913.

M. Qiphshidze, a pupil of Professor Marr and a collaborator with him as writer of a grammar of the Lazian (Dehan) language, has issued a reprint of his contribution to *Khristsianskii Vostok*, tom. ii, pt. i, on the life and martyrdom of St. Antony-Ravakh, giving the Georgian version with a Russian translation. The text is based on photographs of the Athos MS. No. 57, and the Sinai MS. No. 62. St. Antony-Ravakh was a native of Damascus,

or its environs, and was martyred in the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid, and the Georgian text is interesting for comparison with the Ethiopic and Arabic versions used by M. Paul Peeters in his *S. Antoine le néo-martyr*. M. Qiphshidze thinks the Georgian text is the oldest extant and based upon a MS. written during the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid, for it omits the name of that prince, which the other versions give, and refers to him simply as "emir al muminin", or "king of the Saracens", or "King".

O DOISTORICHESKOM YAZYKÉ ZAKAVKAZIYA. K. M. T.
Tiflis, 1913.

To the scanty literature on the language of the Chechens Prince K. M. Tumanishvili has added a little book of 117 pages, in which he endeavours to show that the Chechens are descended from the Medes, that at some early period their speech prevailed in Transcaucasia, and that the study of it would be helpful in the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions.

OBITUARY NOTICE

SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, G.C.S.I.

By the death of Sir William Lee-Warner, G.C.S.I., Hon. Litt.D. (Cambridge), which took place on the 18th January, this Society and the retired ranks of the Indian Civil Service have lost a distinguished member. Born in 1846, and educated at Rugby, whence he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, he passed the open competition examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1867, and then, in November, 1869, after graduating with honours in the moral sciences tripos, went out to India on the Bombay establishment. He soon began to make his mark; first, in 1872, as Private Secretary to the Governor, and very shortly after that as Under-Secretary in the Political, Judicial, and Educational Departments. The rest of his service was spent almost entirely in the Secretariat, —chiefly in Bombay, but for a time as Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India,— with short periods as Director of Public Instruction, Political Agent at Kolhapur, and Resident at Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg. He left the Service in September, 1895, in order to be appointed as Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. In November, 1902, he was made a member of the Council of India. And he held this last post till November, 1912, when he retired from official life. The first recognition of the value of his services was shown in 1892, when he was made a C.S.I. He was promoted to be K.C.S.I. in 1898. And in 1911 there was conferred on him the exceptional honour of elevation

to the rank of a Knight Grand Commander of the Order, —a distinction which has been mostly limited to Viceroys, Governors, Secretaries of State, and Indian potentates of very high position.

Sir William Lee-Warner did not take a part in the scientific work falling within the scope of this Society's operations: his interest lay in current affairs of the present day. But he was a writer of repute. He was a substantial contributor to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and *The Cambridge Modern History*. He also wrote from time to time for the monthly and quarterly reviews. And he did much by lectures, as well as by his writings, towards spreading a knowledge of India and its affairs among the general public. In the way of separate publications he gave us —in 1894, "*The Protected Princes of India*", of which a second edition was issued in 1910 under the title of "*The Native States of India*"; in 1897, "*The Citizen of India*", of which a revised edition was issued in 1907; in 1904, "*The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*" (two volumes); and in 1908, "*Memoirs of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman*". Of these books the first two are of special practical value. The first of them, "*The Native States of India*" according to the title of its second edition, is well known as a standard work on the history and status of those parts of India which are under the independent administration of the Native princes and other rulers, on the rights and obligations of the possessors of those territories, and on the position and policy of the British Government with regard to them, especially with a view to securing their co-operation in promoting the moral and material welfare of the Indian Empire in general. The preface to the original edition of the second book, "*The Citizen of India*", tells us that:—"It is the main purpose of the author of this little volume to place before Indian

school-boys a few simple facts about the land in which they live; but it is believed that older citizens of the British Empire may find in its pages some information about India which will be of interest to them." The revised version takes a different stand. The original book, which was prepared and published with the approval of the Government of India, had been used in colleges, and then had been introduced into schools, where, however, its language was found too difficult. The book was accordingly rewritten: the arrangement of the subject was preserved as far as possible, but at the same time was considerably changed: but a simpler style was used; additional matter was introduced; various details and statistics were brought up to date; and the revised edition, with an increase of sixty-nine pages and mostly a quite new set of illustrations, is in fact almost another work. To the older class of readers the book will probably appeal most in its original form, of which there were several issues, carried on up to date, before the revised version was taken in hand: but in either shape it might be read to great advantage by every young man who enters the Indian service in any department and capacity whatsoever: it would teach him more in a week, than he could learn in a long course of actual experience, about the organization, aims, and methods of the Indian Government, the responsibilities and powers devolving on him as even a junior member of the great administration that he is joining, and the way in which he might best play his part. In 1910 the revised edition was translated into Burmese, and in that form was made an official school-book in that province. Whether the book has received any similar recognition in India, is not known: but it could reach in a vernacular garb a vast and important body of people to whom it is inaccessible in English. It is open to question, however, whether the best treatment of the work for the future would not be as follows:

(1) for colleges and general readers; to take the latest improved issue of the original work which was sent out before the book was recast, and to bring that version up to date and keep it so in reissue from time to time; and (2) for schools and vernacular readers; not to attempt a full translation of the whole book, but to confine that to those parts of it which contrast the British rule with the Native rule which preceded it, and which explain the purely local district and municipal administration, and, for the rest, to give only a brief abstract.

In the India Office from 1895 to 1912, perhaps more than anywhere else, Sir William Lee-Warner played an important though quiet part in the guidance of Indian affairs. His influence and action in some directions unfortunately created a certain amount of ill-feeling against him on the part of the extremely progressive section of Indians. But, in reality, the Indian people of all classes—in particular, the agriculturists out there, and here in England the students who come to complete their education and training on European lines—have seldom if ever had a friend more warmly and actively devoted to their interests. It is greatly to be regretted that his death, following so soon after his retirement from official work, has cut short a career in which he might still have done much towards helping to promote the welfare of the people of India and to strengthen the British rule.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-March, 1914.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

January 13, 1914.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Ghulam Ahmad.
Mr. Gauranganath Bandyopadhyaya.
Rev. David Catt.
Professor Kishore Mohan Maitra.
Mr. G. Hurry Krishna Pillay.
Rev. D. C. Simpson.
Professor Gulbahar Singh.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Sir Charles Lyall read a paper entitled "Old Arabian Poetry and the Hebrew Literature of the Old Testament".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hirschfeld, and Colonel Plunkett took part.

February 10, 1914.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Miss Mary Lumsden.
Dr. C. O. Sylvester Mawson.
Rao Sahib Pandit S. B. Misra.
Colonel W. J. W. Muir.
Mr. Haridas Mukerji.
Mr. J. N. Wilfred Paul.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mrs. Bulstrode read a paper entitled "A Tour in Mongolia".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Perry-Ayscough and Colonel Plunkett took part.

March 10, 1914.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Lieutenant G. C. Binstead, Essex Regiment.

Mr. John C. Ferguson.

Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer.

Pandit Todar Mall.

Mr. F. Noyce.

Eleven nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

A vote of condolence with the families of the late Professor Driver and Dr. Ginsburg was passed.

Mr. Yoné Noguchi read a paper entitled "No: the Japanese Play of Silence".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Crewdson and Dr. Hagopian took part.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. LXVII, Heft iv.

Németh (J.). Die Rätsel des Codex Cumanicus.

Hertel (J.). Indologische Analekta.

Wellhausen (J.). Zum Koran.

Marmorstein (A.). Über das Gaonat in Palästina.

Torczyner (H.). Zur Geschichte des semitischen Verbums.

- Schmidt (R.). Beiträge zur Flora Sanscritica.
 König (Ed.). Mose der Medizinnmann.
 Charpentier (J.). Über eine alte Handschrift der Uttarā-
 dhyaya naṭikā des Devendragani.
 Leumann (E.). Bibliographische Notizen über zwei
 Nordarische und zwei sanskritische Fragmente.
 Fischer (A.). Die Quitte als Verzeichen bei den Persern.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. XXVII, Nos. iii–iv.

- Strauss (O.). Zur Geschichte des Sāṃkhya.
 Franke (R. O.). Das einheitliche Thema des Dīghanikāya.
 Simon (R.). Die Notationen der vedischen Liedertexte.
 Bartholomae (C.). .Mitteliranische Studien IV.
 Rescher (O.). Zum Diwān des Abū'l Aswad ed-Du'alī.
 Zachariae (Th.). Die Bedeutungen von Sanskrit *nīvi*.
 Vardanian (A.). Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Proklos und
 Sahak.

III. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome II, No. ii.

- Macler (F.). Notices de manuscrits arméniens vus dans
 quelques bibliothèques de l'Europe centrale.
 Faure-Biguet (G.) et G. Delphin. Les séances d'El-Aouali,
 textes arabes en dialecte maghrébin, publiés et traduits.
 Lévi (S.). Documents de l'Asie centrale (Mission Pelliot).
 Le tokharien B. langue de Koutcha.

Tome II, No. iii.

- Finot (L.) et E. Huber. Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāsti-
 vādins, texte sanscrit avec la version chinoise de
 Kumārajīva traduite en Français.

IV. JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
 OF BENGAL. Vol. IX, Nos. vii, viii–ix.

- Jayaswal (Kāshi-Prasād). The Plays of Bhāsa and King
 Darsaka of Magadha.
 — The Date of Asoka's Coronation.

Banerji (R. D.). Lakṣmanasena.

Das-Gupta (Hem Chandra). On Two-shouldered Stone Implements from Assam.

Husain (Maulavi M. Hidayat). The Life and Works of Muhibb Allah of Bihār.

Westharp (A.). Psychology of Indian Music.

Hosten (Rev. H.). The Rev. L. Bernard among the Abors, and the Cross as a Tattoo Mark (1855).

V. MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Vol. V, No. i.

Vidyabhusana (Satis Chandra). Srid-Pa-Ho: a Tibeto-Chinese Tortoise Chart of Divination.

VI. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Vol. XLI, Pts. iii-v.

Greene (Rev. D. C.). Osada's Life of Takano Nagahide.

Schwartz (W. L.). The Great Shrine of Idzumo: some Notes on Shintō, Ancient and Modern.

Hall (J. C.). The Tokugawa Legislation IV.

VII. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. XXXIII, Pt. iii.

Negelein (J. v.). Atharvaprāyaścittāni.

Margolis (Max L.). Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin.

Kent (R. G.). The Chronology of certain Indo-Iranian Sound-changes.

Gottheil (R.). The Peshitta Text of Gen. xxxii, 25.

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Gray (L. H.). Iranian Miscellanies.

Barton (G. A.). The Names of two Kings of Adab.

— Kugler's Criterion for determining the Order of the Months in the Earliest Babylonian Calendar.

Vol. XXXIII, Pt. iv.

- Scott (S. B.). Mohammedanism in Borneo.
 Prince (J. D.). A Tammuz Fragment.
 Schoff (W. H.). The Name of the Erythræan Sea.
 Peters (J. P.). The Cock.
 Ylvisaker (S. C.). Dialectic Differences between Assyrian and Babylonian.
 Price (L. M.). The Animal *Dun* in the Sumerian Inscriptions.

VIII. TRANSACTIONS OF THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. IV, Pt. iii.

- Lay (A. H.). Marriage Customs of Korea.
 Gale (J. S.). Selection and Divorce.
 Rufus (W. Carl). The Celestial Planisphere of King Yi Tai-Jo.

IX. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. VI, Fasc. ii.

- Rescher (O.). La Mo'allāqa de 'Antara avec le commentaire d'Ibn el-Anbārī.
 Motzo (B.). La sorte dei Giudei in Egitto al tempo di Geremia.
 Rossini (C. C.). Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia.
 Levi della Vida (G.). Il califfato di Ali secondo il Kitāb al asrāf di al-Balāduri.
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- Menzel (Th.). Das höchste Gericht. Zwei jung-türkische Traumgesichte.
 Horovitz (J.). Zur Muhammadlegende.
 Wensinck (A. J.). Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitgesetzgebung.
 Becker (C. H.). Steuerpacht und Lehnwesen.
 Jacob (G.), P. Kahle, E. Littmann, und E. Graefe. Der Qarrād.

XI. NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 1913. Part IV.

Milne (J. Grafton). Countermarked Coins of Asia Minor.

XII. SARAWAK MUSEUM JOURNAL. Vol. I, No. iv.

Ray (S.). The Languages of Borneo.

XIII. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLII, Pt. DXXXV.

Temple (Sir R. C.), Bart. The obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States.

Nariman (G. B.). One more Buddhist Hymn.

— Buddhist Authors in Jain Literature.

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Hoernle (A. F. R.). The Discovery of the Bower MS.: its date, locality, circumstances, and importance.

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Bhandarkar (D. R.). Epigraphic Notes and Questions.

Trivedi (K. P.). The Priority of Bhamaha to Dandin.

Jayaswal (K.-P.). The Date of the Mudra-Rakshasa and the Identification of Malayaketu.

Ramkarna (Pandit). Kinsariya Inscription of Dadhichika-Chachcha of Vikrama Samvat 1056.

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1910 *AHMAD, Maulavi Saiyid Makbul, *Fatehgarh, U.P.,
India.*

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 LAHORE. PANJAB PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 LEIPZIG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 LIVERPOOL. INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.
 LONDON LIBRARY.
 LUCKNOW. CANNING COLLEGE.
 LUCKNOW. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM.
 LUCKNOW. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 90 LUND. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MADISON. WISCONSIN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MADRAS. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.
 MADRAS. KUMBAKONAM COLLEGE.
 MADRAS. ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY.
 MADRAS. PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.
 MADRID. BIBLIOTECA DEL ATENEO.
 MANCHESTER. FREE REFERENCE LIBRARY.
 MANDALAY. BURMA ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.
 MANILA. BUREAU OF SCIENCE.
 100 MARBURG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MARIELLE, Madame S., Cannes.
 MARSOVAN. ARCHÆOLOGICAL CLUB.
 MEADVILLE. THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL LIBRARY.
 MELBOURNE. VICTORIA PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 MILAN. R. BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI BRERA.
 MINNEAPOLIS. ATHENÆUM LIBRARY.
 MUNICH. KON. HOF- UND STAATSBIBLIOTHEK.
 MUNICH. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL OFFICE, Bangalore.
 110 MYSORE. MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE UNION.
 NAPLES. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.
 NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. PUBLIC LIBRARY.

- NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY, Albany.
 NEW YORK CITY. GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY.
 NEW YORK CITY. LIBRARY OF THE TANTRIK ORDER IN AMERICA.
 NEW YORK CITY. UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
 OXFORD. THE INDIAN INSTITUTE.
 OXFORD. QUEEN'S COLLEGE.
- 120 PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ART ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE.
 PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.
 PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.
 PARIS. INSTITUT DE FRANCE.
 PEABODY INSTITUTE, Baltimore.
 PESHAWAR. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, FRONTIER CIRCLE.
 PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY COMPANY.
 PHILADELPHIA. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARY.
 PITTSBURG. CARNEGIE LIBRARY.
 PITTSBURG. WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
- 130 POONA. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, WESTERN CIRCLE.
 PRAG. DEUTSCHE UNIVERSITÄT.
 PRATAP SINGH MUSEUM, Srinagar, Kashmir.
 PRINCETON. THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
 ROME. BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE.
 ROME. ISTITUTO BIBLICO PONTIFICIO.
 ROSTOCK. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 ROY, SOURINDRA NATH, Esq., Behala.
 ST. PETERSBURG. IMPERIAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.
 SAN FRANCISCO. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
- 140 SEATTLE. UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON LIBRARY.
 SHILLONG. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 SIMLA. DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.
 SOUTH KENSINGTON. SCIENCE MUSEUM.
 STOCKHOLM. ROYAL LIBRARY.
 STOCKHOLM. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 STRASSBURG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 SYDNEY. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 TOKYO. IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LITERATURE.
 TOKYO. INSTITUTE OF HISTORY, IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY.
- 150 TOKYO. Kōyō KYOKWAI.
 TOKYO. SHŪKYO-DAIGAKU LIBRARY.
 TRIVANDRUM. MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE.
 TÜBINGEN. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

- URBANA. ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 VARARIDDHI, H.R.H. Prince NARES, Bangkok.
 VIZAGAPATAM. MRS. A. V. NARASINGA RAO COLLEGE.
 VLADIVOSTOCK. ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
 WASHINGTON. CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 WASHINGTON. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.
 160 WÜRZBURG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 161 ZURICH. STADT BIBLIOTHEK.

Note. There are other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending their names to be added to the above list.



SUMMARY OF MEMBERS

43

	Resident Members.	Resident Compounders.	Non-resident Members.	Non-resident Compounders.	Library Members.	Honorary and Extraordinary Members.	Subscribing Libraries.	Total.
1909 ...	90	15	367	66	1	30	88	657
1910 ...	92	14	395	62	1	30	96	690
1911 ...	90	12	426	64	1	31	105	729
1912 ..	85	12	433	65	1	31	123	750
1913 ..	75	12	452	66	1	31	153	790
Deaths ...	6		8	...	...	1	...	15
Resignations	1	...	33	...	...	...	3	37
Elected since	68	12	411	66	1	30	150	738
	7	...	50	...	...	1	11	69
Transfers ...	75	12	461	66	1	31	161	807
	+1	...	...	+1	...		...	+2
		...	-2	...		...	...	-2
Jan. 20, 1914	76	12	459	67	1	31	161	807

For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
the April and October Numbers of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट t	व b
आ ā	औ au	ठ th	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड d	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ dh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
लृ l̥	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
लृ l̄	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

◌ं (Anusvāra) m̐	◌ः (Avagraha) ’
◌ँ (Anunāsika) ṁ	Udātta ˆ
◌ः (Visarga) ḥ	Svarita ˜
◌ं (Jihvāmūlīya) ḥ	Anudātta ˘
◌ं (Upadhmānīya) ḥ	

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

at beginning of word omit;	ك k	آ ā
elsewhere َ or ِ	ل l	ي ī
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش ṣ or <u>sh</u>	ن n
ث t or <u>th</u>	ص ṣ or ṣ	و u or v
ج j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or ṣ	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ ḥ or <u>kh</u>	ظ ẓ	و au
د d	ع ʿ	wasla ʾ
ذ d or <u>dh</u>	غ q or <u>gh</u>	hamza َ or ِ
ر r	ف f	silent t ḥ
ز z	ق q	letter not pro- nounced —

DIPHTHONGS.

VOWELS.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ك when pro- nounced as g k	ت or پ t	خ ts
چ c or <u>ch</u>		ڌ or ڍ ḍ	ڄ ɟ
ڙ ẓ or <u>zh</u>		ڙ or ڻ ṛ	ڻ ɳ
گ g	گ ġ		ڻ ksh

